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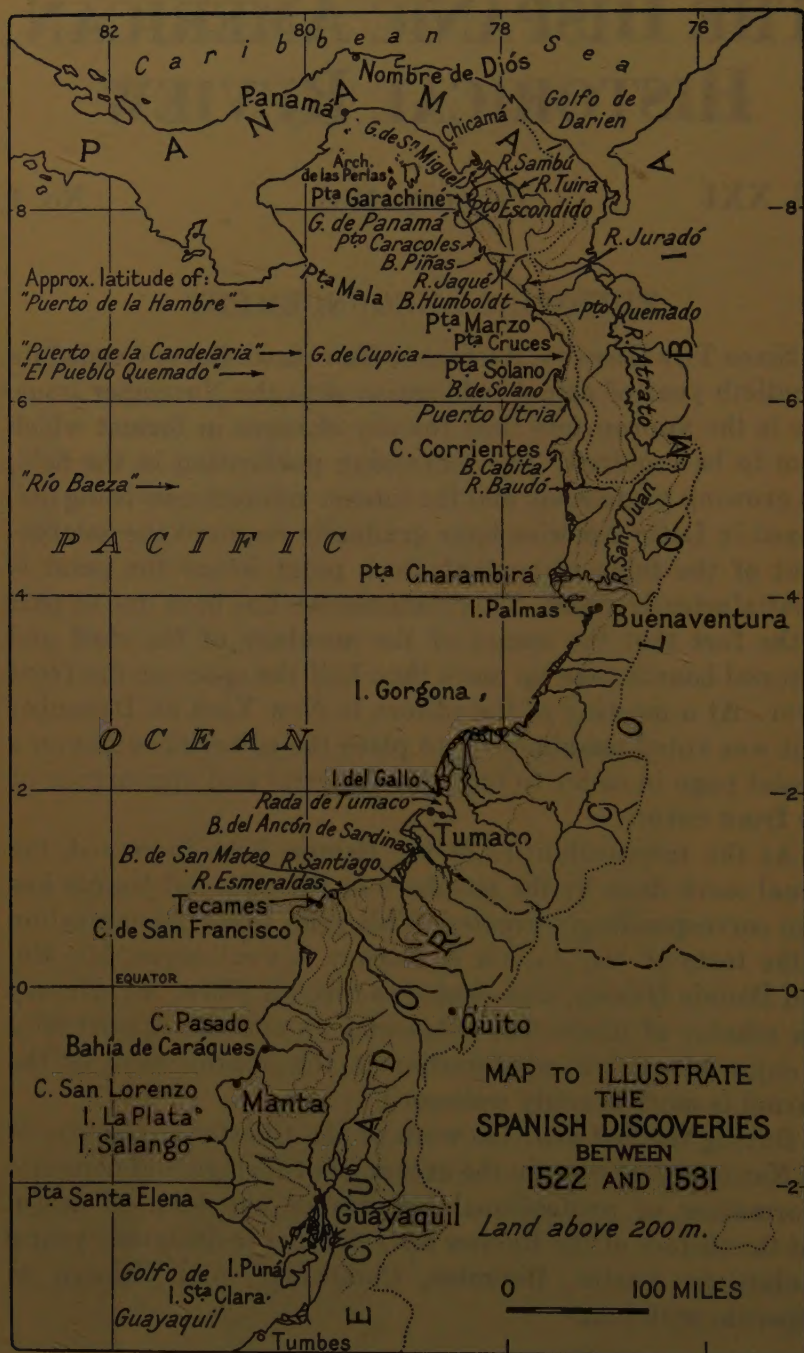
No. 1

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

SINCE THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW ended its twentieth year of actual publication with the November issue, this is the appropriate time for any changes in format which seem to be required. The increasing publication in the field, the growing profession, and the intense interest now being displayed in Latin America have gradually required the enlargement of the table of contents to a point where the print is unsatisfactorily small. This compression has been due in part to the fact that the names of the members of the staff and editorial boards take up more than half the space on the front cover. At a meeting of the editors in New York on December 27 it was voted unanimously to place the editorial names on a special page in order to improve the print and appearance of the front cover.

As the responsibilities of the REVIEW have increased, the actual work done by the members of the editorial boards has been correspondingly greater. This year, upon the expiration of the term of Mr. Joseph B. Lockey, his colleague, Mr. Roland Dennis Hussey, was elected to take his place. Mr. Hussey is a scholar of distinctive achievements and this opportunity to enjoy his active collaboration in the improvement of the journal is most heartily welcomed.

During the last year the work of Mr. Chester L. Guthrie of the National Archives in the exchange of foreign and domestic information of professional importance has been so useful that the editors of the REVIEW have decided to designate young scholars in Austin, Berkeley, Cambridge, and Chicago to coöperate with him.



THE EARLIEST SPANISH ADVANCES SOUTHWARD FROM PANAMA ALONG THE WEST COAST OF SOUTH AMERICA¹

THE PROBLEM

The period between the original crossing of the Isthmus of Darien and the conquest of Peru has remained one of the most obscure in the history of the New World. The published records of participants in discovery along the west coast of South America from 1522 to 1531 are few, sketchy, and filled with disagreements. The dates cited differ not only by months but in several instances by as much as a year. The authors set down the earlier episodes of exploration chiefly from memory, and all were far more keenly concerned with affairs subsequent to the capture of Tumbez in January, 1532.

A few of the gaps in information are filled by a second group of sixteenth-century writers who collected oral accounts from the pioneers or who had access to documents now known only through their own publications. Zárate,² for example, tells us that he "wrote down every transaction as it occurred," and subsequently drew upon the earlier records of Xerés, Sánchez, and Cieza de León, as well as upon testimony "of dispassionate persons, worthy of credit, . . . who were witnesses of and actors in the transactions."

¹ For gracious aid in the preparation of this study the author is indebted to the Librarian of Congress and to the librarians of the American Geographical Society, the American Museum of Natural History, Columbia University, the Hispanic Society of America, the New York Historical Society and the New York Public Library. For critical advice and suggestions on matters of historical or geographic importance he is also grateful to the author and journalist, Mr. Edwin Lefevre, who was born on the Isthmus of Panama; to the Hispanic scholar, Mr. Philip Ainsworth Means, and to Professor Roger Bigelow Merriman, of Harvard University.

² Augustino Zárate, *History of the discovery and conquest of Peru*, by Francisco Pizarro. In Robert Kerr, *A general history and collection of voyages and travels* (18 vols., Edinburgh, 1824), IV.

But, whereas the secondary authors added measurably to our knowledge of persons and events, their testimony with respect to places and dates is as lacking as that of the earliest group. Indeed, one of the curious deficiencies of all the older Spanish literature concerning the seaboard extending from Panama to Peru is its failure to reflect more than the vaguest picture of the spectacular physiography and successively contrasting landscapes of the coastal region.

Geographic ignorance is, in turn, the principal reason for many misconceptions that later historians have read into the record of the Spanish advance. Peru itself could readily be visited; living feet of the nineteenth century might there tread the trails of the conquerors and living eyes view the realm of the Incas. But the Pacific coast of Darien, Colombia, and northwestern Ecuador has for the most part always lain below the horizon of steamships. It is still the least known continental seacoast in the world.

For such reasons the more or less conflicting texts of the Spanish chroniclers, together with unpublished records successively brought to light at more recent dates, have continued to be almost the sole sources for reconstructing a narrative dealing with centuries-old discovery along the shoreline between Darien and the familiar trade routes of western Ecuador. No maps examined by commentators have been well correlated with the place names of the pioneer journals, to which numerous new or corrupted names were added during the buccaneering epoch of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, extensive physical features of the Colombian coast have been charted only within periods as recent as the middle nineteenth century. Indeed, even the most up-to-date cartographic information suffers from more uncertainties than that relating to any other part of the South American coastline. Small wonder, then, that accounts of steps preliminary to the conquest of Peru, which naturally seemed of least importance to reminiscing eye-witnesses, contain much that is meaningless or erroneous.

The purpose of this study is to examine the historic record

in the light of a personal knowledge of the coast based upon comprehensive, even if superficial, observation.³ It is evident that the sites named and the limits successively attained by the earliest voyagers can not all be stated with assurance. Certain obscure questions of position and date are likely, in fact, to prove forever insoluble for want of sufficient first-hand data. Nevertheless, it now seems practicable to outline a historical résumé which differs in a number of respects from versions that have become regarded as standard, and which contributes materially to a chronological sequence.

THE HISTORICAL SOURCES

For our purpose, the most useful accounts of the contemporaries of Francisco Pizarro are those of Almagro, Andagoya, Benzoni, Cieza de León, Fernández de Oviedo, Ruiz Naharro, Pedro Pizarro, Sáamanos, Xerés,⁴ Zárate, and a little later, Joaquín Acosta.⁵

³ R. C. Murphy, "Characteristics of the littoral water and weather along the Pacific coast of Colombia and Ecuador," *Trans. Amer. Geophysical Union*, 19th annual meeting (Nat. Research Council), part 2, 1938, pp. 172-173.

———, "Dark skies," *Natural History*, XL (1938), 164-178 and 231. (Many photographs of the Pacific coast of Colombia).

———, "The littoral of Pacific Colombia and Ecuador," *Geog. Review*, XXIX (1939), 1-33. (Cf. also *Bol. Soc. Geog. de Colombia*, VI [1939], 187-199).

———, "Racial succession in the Colombian Chocó," *Geog. Review*, XXIX (1939), 461-471.

⁴ Diego de Almagro, etc. (Testimony of Almagro, García de Jaren, Pedro de Candia, Cristóbal de Peralta, Francisco de Cuellar, Domingo de Solaluz, Nicolás de Ribera, Antonio de Carrión, Martín de Paz, Alonso Brizeno, Alonso de Molina, and other members of the early expeditions), in *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (112 vols., Madrid, 1842-), XXVI, 256-274; Pascual de Andagoya, *Narrative of the proceedings of Pedrarias Dávila in the provinces of Tierra Firme or Castilla del Oro, and of the discovery of the South Sea and the coasts of Peru and Nicaragua*, translated by C. R. Markham, London (Hakluyt Society), 1865; Girolamo Benzoni, *History of the New World*, translated by W. H. Smith, London (Hakluyt Society), 1857; Pedro Cieza de León, *The travels of Pedro Cieza de León, 1532-50, contained in the first part of his chronicle of Peru*, translated and edited by C. R. Markham, London (Hakluyt Society), 1864; Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, edited by José Amador de los Ríos (4 vols., Madrid, 1855), IV, Part 3; Pedro Ruiz Naharro, *Relación de los hechos de los españoles en el Perú desde su descubrimiento hasta la muerte del marqués Francisco Pizarro, por el padre fray Pedro Ruiz Naharro del orden de la*

A second group comprises a number of authors, such as Alcedo, Herrera, and those included in the *documentos inéditos* of Cuervo,⁶ who wrote between the sixteenth and the late eighteenth centuries and who drew in part upon unknown sources in addition to the publications of the chroniclers named in the preceding paragraph.

The modern historians consulted include those of both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Most of them have made use of certain records, published and unpublished, which I have not seen, and have incorporated their findings with appropriate documentation. Those whose accounts I have studied with particular care are Fernández de Navarrete, Prescott, Helps, Romero, Córdoba, Merriman, Means, Shay, and Kirkpatrick,⁷ listed in the chronological order of their writings. Additional names in the following text are cited

Merced, in Pedro José Marqués de Pidal y Miguel Salvá y Munar, *Documentos inéditos*, XXVI, 232-240; Pedro Pizarro, *Relation of the discovery and conquest of the kingdoms of Peru*, translated by P. A. Means (2 vols., New York [Cortes Society], 1921), I; Juan de Sámanos, *Relación de los primeros descubrimientos de Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro*, 1526 (reprinted in, M. H. Saville, *Antiquities of Manabí* [Ecuador], (2 vols., New York, 1907-), II, 278-281; Francisco Xerés, *A true account of the province of Cusco, called New Castille, conquered by Francisco Pizarro, captain to His Majesty, the Emperor, our master*, in *Reports on the discovery of Peru*, translated and edited by C. R. Markham, London (Hakluyt Society), 1872.

⁶ Joaquín Acosta, *Compendio histórico del descubrimiento y colonización de la Nueva Granada en el siglo décimo sexto*. Paris, 1848.

⁷ Antonio de Alcedo, *Diccionario geográfico-histórico de las Indias occidentales ó America*. 5 vols., Madrid, 1786-1789. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *The general history of the vast continent and islands of America, commonly call'd, the West-Indies, from the first discoveries thereof: with the best accounts the people could give of their antiquities*, translated by John Stevens, (6 vols., London, 1725-1726), III, 370-379, 394-404. Antonio B. Cuervo, *Colección de documentos inéditos sobre la geografía y la historia de Colombia*, recopilados por Antonio B. Cuervo (4 vols., Bogotá, 1891-1894), II, sec. 1, IV, sec. 2.

⁷ Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglo XV* (5 vols., Madrid, 1825-37), Vol. III. W. H. Prescott, *History of the conquest of Peru*, (2 vols., New York, 1847), Vol. I. Arthur Helps, *The Spanish conquest in America* (4 vols., London, 1857), Vol. III. Carlos A. Romero, "Los de la isla del Gallo," *Revista Histórica* (Lima, 1918), pp. 105-170. Francisco Córdoba M., *Nociones de geografía e historia del Chocó*, Quibdó, 1924. R. B. Merriman, *The rise of the Spanish empire* (4 vols., New York, 1918-34), Vol. III. P. A. Means, *Fall of the Inca empire*, New York, 1932. Frank Shay, *Incredible Pizarro*, New York, 1932. F. A. Kirkpatrick, *The Spanish conquistadores*, London, 1934.

with the object of fixing responsibility for particular conclusions.⁸

As regards maps, very little that is helpful belongs to dates earlier than the period of the buccaneers. Greve⁹ has given us an example of a sixteenth-century chart, and the British freebooters are known to have based their own charts largely upon similar manuscript drawings found in captured Spanish vessels, as reported by Rogers.¹⁰ It is evident, furthermore, that numerous geographic names along the coast between Panama and Peru were applied long after the conquest, and that many of the earliest names on the Pacific coast of Darien and Colombia appeared either only in texts or else upon charts which later vanished. The Colombian "Carta Corográfica"¹¹ of 1864 is the best and most detailed modern map to serve as a basis of correlation. I have used it as an adjunct to the printed record in endeavoring to decide which original geographic names have become obsolete or indeterminate.

GEOGRAPHIC AND CHRONOLOGICAL CORRELATIONS

A good proportion of the place names bestowed by Pizarro, Almagro, their predecessors, associates, and early successors have come down to the present day unclouded by doubt as to the physiographic features upon which they were originally fixed. Others, such as "Chicamá," "Birú," "Puerto de la Hambre," "Puerto de la Candelaria," "El Pueblo Quemado," "Río Baeza" and "Río Cartagena," have either remained not precisely identifiable or else have become obscured by misunderstandings, in some instances made worse by variant repetition.

⁸ Voyage of Gil González Dávila, 1522, in Cuervo, *loc. cit.*, IV (1894), 101-104. Pedro José Marqués de Pidal y Miguel Salvá y Munar, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, XXVI. Alejandro Malaspina y José de Bustamante y Guerra, *Viaje político-científico alrededor del mundo por las corbetas "Descubierta" y "Atrevida" desde 1789 á 1794*. Madrid, 1885.

⁹ Ernesto Greve, "Ligero estudio sobre un trozo de carta náutica del siglo XVI," *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, LXV (1930), 5-13.

¹⁰ Woodes Rogers, *A cruising voyage round the world*. London, 1712.

¹¹ "Carta corográfica del Estado del Cauca, construida con los datos de la Comisión Corográfica i de orden del Gobierno Jeneral por Manuel Ponce de Leon, ingeniero, i Manuel Maria Paz," 1:810,000, Bogotá, 1864.

Most names along the coast pertain to one of the following categories: 1, Indian terms, such as Garachiné, Cupica, and Puná; 2, patronymics (rare), such as Río Baeza, so called for a soldier who lost his life during Almagro's exploration of its valley; 3, localities called after native products, physical characteristics, fanciful resemblances, latitude or contemporary events, such as Islas de Perlas, Pueblo Quemado, Bahía de Cabita (or Cueva), Cabo Pasado, and the islands El Gallo, La Plata, and El Muerto (Santa Clara); 4, names given in honor of feast days of the saints.

For purposes of correlating time and place the last-named group might be regarded as particularly helpful. It is in accord with Hispanic tradition that the application of a saint's name to a locality should indicate the date of discovery. Tests made by comparison with the ecclesiastical calendar prove, in many instances, to harmonize with the evidence and interpolations drawn from other data. This approach soon breaks down, however, for the reason that more than half of the names of saintly patrons were applied not by the conquistadors but by their successors on voyages of unknown dates.

There are also the scanty records of distances, and of time expressed in days of travel, examples of which are fortunately scattered through the earliest chronicles. In this respect, two available texts are outstanding. One of these is the anonymous description of the coast published by Cuervo,¹² which, as revealed by internal evidence, was written between 1547 and the end of the sixteenth century. This contains detailed information about the character of the coast, the practical havens, the currents, surf, bars, estuaries, sources of fresh water and food supplies, and the disposition of the native inhabitants. The other is the text of Cieza de León, who was in Peru between 1532 and 1550.

These two accounts, which are the earliest mariner's directions or "coastal pilots" for western South America, meticulously state the distance in leagues from haven to haven. The modern *legua* of 7416 Spanish yards is about 2.76 nautical miles. The unit of the sixteenth century may have been some-

¹² Anonymous account of the Isthmus of Panama and the Pacific coast to the south, written between 1547 and 1605. In, Cuervo, *loc. cit.*, II (1892), 4-6.

what smaller, because the *legua* which was until recently a legal measurement in California represents but 2.63 statute miles. In any event, the discrepancy is slight enough to be disregarded for the short and approximate distances usually involved, and the figures of Cieza de León and his contemporary agree reasonably well with the linear representations on modern charts.

In figuring distances from criteria of days of travel, it is important to understand the meteorological régime of the region and its bearing upon coastwise ocean currents. These circumstances, which were likewise first described by the two authors mentioned, have been thoroughly verified by modern research. Between January and March the northerly winds enable sailing craft to make rapid passages from Panama to the Gulf of Guayaquil. During all the remainder of the year the breeze is southerly, steady and often brisk. Residents of the Chocó coast, who today convey fruit in sailing canoes to Panama, expect their return against the southerly winds to require from two to three times as long a period as the northward trip. Two of the departures of Pizarro from Panama were made in November, perhaps the least favorable of all seasons. In the many comings and goings of his vessels and those of his confederates up and down the coast, constant and understandable reflections of the relation between month, course, and speed of travel are clearly recognizable.

The final clues in the indicated process of correlation are the rarest of all, namely, references to seasonal rainfall and to landscape dissociated from place names, such as mangrove-grown foreshores, scarified cliffs, highlands in relation to the ocean front, estuaries of rivers, etc. Several notes of this nature, however, prove highly suggestive to one who is familiar with the coast.

LOCALITIES OF HITHERTO CONFUSED STATUS

In the Isthmian region it was customary to synonymize the name of a unit of Indian territory with that of its principal chief. Thus the land of the cacique Tumaco was mapped as the province of Tumaco, which extended along the northern border of the Gulf of San Miguel. On the opposite or south-

ern shore lay a district ruled by the cacique Birú or Biruquete, whose territory continued for an undetermined distance southward behind the Baudó range and also along the Pacific coast of Darien.

The fact that Birú became a symbol of a land rich in treasure, and the prototype of "Perú," a name unknown to the Incas, has led numerous modern writers to push its position southward beyond a latitude with which it had any original connotation. As a matter of fact, while the Spanish adventurers of 1524-1526 were supposed to be searching for Birú, they had already left it far behind.

One principal source of error has lain in long-continued misunderstandings concerning Andagoya's explorations eastward and southward from Panama in the years 1522-1523. A reading of his own text, with the geography kept clearly in mind, is sufficient to show that his military co-operation with the Indians of Tumaco, and his consequent engagements against those of Birú at an inland junction of two large rivers, twenty leagues from the ocean, all took place in areas within the drainage system of the Gulf of San Miguel, to the east of the Baudó Mountains. In other words, the rivers of Birú, as described by Andagoya, represent the Tuira and its confluents, and possibly also the Sambú. No rivers that would fill the requirements of his somewhat hazy account exist on the Pacific slope of the coast range between Point Garachiné and the San Juan. Furthermore, Andagoya reached the final scene of his military campaign by "marching."

It is true that after Andagoya's operations inside the Gulf of San Miguel he sailed southward for a short distance along the steep Pacific coast, but his ultimate point at this date was at Piñas Bay or very slightly farther south. Kirkpatrick, who wrote that Andagoya's first voyage carried him "hardly beyond the Isthmian region," seems to be one of the few historians who has clearly recognized this fact. In 1539, several years after the conquest of Peru, Andagoya led another expedition, with five ships, on which he discovered the estuary at Buenaventura and founded the town of that

name near Cascajal Islet.¹³ We may discount his statement that he had been even within "50 leagues" of that locality on his voyage sixteen years earlier. Acosta has pointed out that there are many errors in Andagoya's tale. Nevertheless, several historians, including Fernández de Navarrete and other Spanish writers, have mingled and confused Andagoya's widely separated periods of exploration and have thus wrongly credited him with being the earliest discoverer of the Pacific coast of Colombia.

Viewed in its true light, Andagoya's record, which was written long after the events, demonstrates that the dreaded warriors of Birú were Indians who voyaged merely from the southerly coasts and rivers of the Gulf of San Miguel to make monthly raids against their neighbors near Chicamá, twenty miles or more across this arm of the sea. The subsequent allocation of Birú to positions as far south as Cape Corrientes is purely imaginary. That the facts were formerly understood better than in our own day is shown by a number of mid-seventeenth century maps, such as that of Blaeuw,¹⁴ in which Birú is correctly restricted to an area bordering the southern shore of the Gulf of San Miguel.

The reference to Chicamá brings up another locality that has been bandied between many different geographic positions. It was an Indian village on the Gulf of Panama and a highly important station during the successive undertakings of Pizarro. In various sixteenth-century Spanish texts the name is spelled also in at least the following six additional ways: Cochamá, Chichama, Chincama, Chinchama, Chochama, and Chuchama; they all obviously refer to the same station. Markham, in his translation of Andagoya, and also Prescott and Merriman, among modern authorities, select alternate orthographies and place the village on opposite sides of the Gulf of San Miguel. Fortunately, several of the early chroniclers agree that it lay within sight of the Pearl Islands, which can mean only the mainland to eastward, *i.e.* in Tumaco rather

¹³ Paulo Emilio Escobar, *Bahías de Málaga y Buenaventura, la costa Colombiana del Pacífico, 1918-1920*. Bogotá, 1921.

¹⁴ Guiljelmus Blaeuw, *New Atlas* (Amsterdam, 1642), pl. 97.

than Birú. The map of Zárate¹⁵ (reproduced in the French edition of 1620) sets the matter at rest by showing "Chincama" on the coast northeast of the Isla del Rey of the Pearl Islands.

"Puerto de la Hambre" is indubitably not Piñas Bay, with which it has often been misidentified. The name refers to one of the small anchorages in Humboldt Bay, first visited by Pizarro in January, 1525, after he had proceeded southward from the valley of the River Jaqué, but not named until the hungry period of his later sojourn during February and March of the same year.

"Puerto de la Candelaria" likewise has nothing to do with the Colombian inlet now so called, near latitude 3°N. It was discovered by Pizarro on February 2, 1525, and is represented by one of the several havens in the Gulf of Cupica, between Cruces Point and the Bay of Solano.

It is not unnatural that the "Pueblo Quemado" of Almagro should have been generally synonymized by historians and geographers with the modern Puerto Quemado, at the southern end of Humboldt Bay. Nevertheless, these two stations are about fifty miles apart, and their names are of distinct origins and dates. Pueblo Quemado was named by Almagro, in July, 1525, because he had burned an Indian village at the site. The distances mentioned by Acosta, Benzon and others would place Pueblo Quemado in the locality of the Bay of Solano, which is the best harbor on the whole coast, particularly during the long season of southerly winds. Puerto Quemado, on the other hand, is a modern name. It derives from a rock known as the Morroquemado (signifying a "chimney rock" rather than a burnt rock), which stands in the water near the mouth of the River Corodó or Corredó, north of Point Marzo. On the eastern side of this rock a great cavern has been worn by the waves, and at the top is an opening through which vapor belches forth like smoke, following the swell and compression of the sea inside.

The "Río Baeza" of Almagro was almost certainly the

¹⁵ Augustin de Zárate, *Histoire de la decouverte et de la conquete du Perou*, traduite de l'Espagnol par S. D. C. (2 vols., Amsterdam, 1620), contains a reproduction of Zárate's map, I, facing p. 8.

Baudó. Unlike the San Juan and many other rivers of this coast, the Baudó enters the Pacific through a single mouth. Furthermore, it has always been well populated with Indians along its course. Here Almagro obtained considerably more gold than Pizarro had been able to find farther to the north.

There remains for identification the port called "Cartagena," in the delta of the San Juan, where the ships of Pizarro and Almagro met on the second voyage, in January, 1527. It had probably been discovered by Almagro in June, 1525. The geographical possibilities limit this locality to the northernmost mouth of the river, now known as the Boca Togoromá. The San Juan has eleven mouths, of which eight offer passage to small craft, such as *bongos*. The Togoromá alone opens into a sheltered and tranquil haven in which ships of no great draft may anchor with security.

THE MEANS OF RECONNAISSANCE

The size of the ships that carried the conquistadors was small; one or more of them are described as caravels of 40 or 45 tons. Others were perhaps twice as commodious and capable of transporting in vast discomfort as many as 175 men and a score of horses.

Historians generally, however, have overlooked the fact that even for the least of such vessels the Pacific rivers between Darien and the southern portion of the Colombian coast offer no possibility of entrance. North of Cape Corrientes the continental slope is precipitous and the only stream of large volume is the Juradó; farther south the river mouths are blocked by bars and shallows on which heavy surf breaks. Even the San Juan, which has several hundred miles of navigable waters along its inland course, enters the ocean by way of constricted mouths, only two or three of which provide tortuous channels for large launches through the delta.

It was not unnatural for Prescott (1847) to write of Pizarro "sailing" into the River Birú, which, by the way, was not the Birú of Andagoya but a stream of several historic names just south of Piñas Bay. It is now known as the River Jaqué, and its valley is one of the few present-day headquar-

ters of the Chocó Indians along the western slope of the Baudó Mountains. The chroniclers who were close to the time of Pizarro, and who had some degree of personal acquaintance with the terrain, had no illusions about the methods of exploration. Indeed, if Prescott had heeded the account of Herrera, which was not published until 1601, he would have learned that the sailors remained on board Pizarro's ship off the entrance to the "Birú" or Jaqué, while the troops landed and marched for three days up the course of the river, the only feasible pathway into the country. Incidentally, the Spaniards found here neither treasure nor provisions, and one man died as a result of fatigue.

Other districts were investigated in dugout canoes, from one to three of which accompanied the expeditions of Pizarro and his associates. Benzoni refers to them, and Sáamanos reports that the craft of Pizarro and Almagro on the first voyage comprised two ships of 40 and 70 tons, and "one smaller boat." Such boats were far too cumbersome to be hoisted on deck; Xerés refers to the canoes of the 1526 voyage as each being rowed or paddled by twenty men. Finally, the petition of Almagro, dated at Panama in April, 1531, makes mention of a "craft with oars" in which a good proportion of the band embarked on the final and successful expedition.

Dugouts of this kind were doubtless towed by the vessels under sail whenever conditions were favorable. At other times they could be manned and allowed to shift for themselves. They were employed when necessary to haul the ships to anchorages during calms and to ward them off lee shores, as Zárate implies. A century and a half later, identical canoes and *bongos* (a word probably introduced by African slaves) were extensively relied upon by the buccaneers along this same coast, sometimes for making independent voyages of hundreds of miles.

In any event, we may be sure that practically all the river travel of the conquistadors in the densely wooded country was undertaken in canoes, or on foot along the banks. Sáamanos informs us that on the first voyage Pizarro thus entered the country in only three or four places, because after the Spaniards had once crossed the beaches they found it impossible

to see anything around them. Pedro Pizarro, listing the virtues of Almagro, states that he, alone among the Spaniards, was "so excellent a woodsman that he could follow an Indian through even the thickest forests merely by tracing his tracks." (Oviedo adds that Almagro could outmarch the Indians themselves.) Pedro de Candia testified to countless canoe trips up the rivers in search of food. In some places the Spaniards had to scramble up steep and muddy stream banks in order to collect the corn that they could see growing above. Herrera reports that the aborigines on one occasion slew all the occupants of a canoe, numbering fourteen men, while they were engaged in a foraging trip in the delta of the San Juan. Farther south, on the desert coast, canoe or foot travel likewise offered the only hope of going inland. The River Chira in Peru, for example, up which Pizarro journeyed in 1528 to obtain llamas and interpreters, is so far from "navigable" that at most seasons a man can ride a horse or wade across its mouth.

INDIAN AND NEGRO FOES AND "FRIENDS"

The rosy rumors from the unknown south probably first came to the Spaniards by way of Indians occupying the Andean highlands, rather than along the forbidding and thinly settled Pacific coast of Darien and adjacent Colombia. The stories may have been conveyed through the Chibchas and neighboring peoples. Balboa had been on the River Atrato in 1511, and shortly thereafter he heard legends about the country that was to be called Peru from the son of the cacique Comogre, on the Caribbean slope of Darien. Still later, the cacique Tumaco, on the Pacific slope, made a clay figure of a llama as a demonstration accompanying his account of the rich southern land.

Andagoya and Pizarro successively became aware that the impenetrable, rugged or swampy forests of the Chocó gave slight indication of fulfilling their hopes. They learned quickly, too, that this repellent littoral region could not be conquered without vast expenditure of labor and lives, but they did not then know that it hid from their view the Quimbayas, in the valleys of the Cordillera, who were masters of

gold working and who possessed so much treasure that they would have well repaid despoliation.

In enumerating the companions who entered service with Pizarro, Almagro, Ruiz and other leaders of the expeditions toward Peru, the early chroniclers take little specific account of Indian or negro servitors. For the most part, such retainers are mentioned only incidentally, receiving no greater notice in the casualty lists than in the roll of the fighting men. Cristóbal de Peralta, however, who was one of the "Thirteen" at Gallo, reports that both negroes and Indians carried for service died in great numbers.

Many casual references show that a considerable number of Panamanian Indians, and at least a few blacks, made up part of the complement of all the vessels. One unnamed negro saved Almagro's life when he had been felled at Pueblo Quemado, his right eye crushed by a stone, a misfortune which led Atahualpa, years later, to refer to him as a blinkard. Another, or the same, negro formed a supernumerary to the immortal Thirteen, for, as the testimony of Pedro de Candia makes clear, the figure comprises only the "hidalgos." This negro may have been the same man whose indelible complexion so astounded the subjects of the Inca at Tumbes. Still another negro, as related by Father Naharro, escaped from one of the Spanish vessels at the Bay of San Mateo in 1527, swam ashore and ensconced himself among the Indians, whom he organized so thoroughly that his community became a thorn in the flesh of the final expedition in 1531. Not until after the death of this rebel black, in 1535, were these Indians reduced, and then not by troops but by two unarmed friars.

The Isthmian Indians were essential as interpreters on the voyages of the conquistadors. We have the testimony of Andagoya that the language of Cueva and Chicamá was substantially the same as that of Birú, which means that it was one of the two or more dialects of the Chocó tribes. Between the Isthmus and the River San Juan, or beyond, there is therefore no reason for the mystery that various modern writers have attempted to inject into the conversations between the Spaniards and the unsubdued natives they encountered. The explorers, as Xerés tells us, approached the

shore in their canoes wherever they saw signs of habitation. Such sallies were usually met by bellicose threats and an attempt to prevent the visitors from acquiring food supplies or fresh water. Zárate reports that the savages harassed the sea and "hairy faces," which is only one of many indications Spaniards continually, and taunted them as old men of the of the presence of interpreters in the scouting parties.

That the natives of the country were Chocó, rather than representatives of the Cuna who had at some earlier date occupied a part of the Pacific coast, is shown not only by this ability to make their invective understood but also by their use of poisoned arrows, which caused men's bodies to swell up like barrels and sometimes proved mortal within four hours. According to Córdoba, attempts to bring the Chocó tribesmen under general subjection were unsuccessful until 1628. Indeed, the Spanish hold was no more than tenuous thereafter, and in 1726 the Indians succeeded in throwing off the yoke of the conquerors. The description of these Indians by the author of the anonymous sixteenth-century account, as published by Cuervo, is extremely similar to those given by the buccaneers, or by Woodes Rogers in 1712.

In northwestern Ecuador, of course, the difficulty of communication between Spaniards and Indians increased because it involved double translation, and at the Gulf of Guayaquil there would have been no common basis whatsoever for an exchange of ideas but for the famous incident of the capture of the balsa from Peru.

The story has been told, with minor variations, by several of the sixteenth-century Spanish writers but, so far as I have learned, no illuminating compilation has ever been published. Herrera, for example, does not make use of the best of all the original sources, which is the relatively little known report of Sáamanos.

After Bartolomé Ruiz had passed Cape San Francisco, toward the end of February, 1527, he sighted near the equator a tall sail, which astonished him and his crew. The craft proved to be a rigged raft of balsa logs, of thirty tons burden. There was, in reality, nothing extraordinary about the size of the ocean-going craft, for Zárate describes balsas capable

of transporting fifty men and three horses. The one encountered by Ruiz was manned by about twenty Indians, of whom eleven threw themselves into the sea, presumably to swim for shore rather than to drown, when the Spanish vessel bore down. The others were captured and considerately treated, and Ruiz ended by taking five of them into his ship (Sáamanos alone says only three; Xerés six), permitting the rest to proceed with the balsa.

The Spaniards had no difficulty in recognizing this group as a new and superior order of Indians, totally different from the primitive people they had thus far met. They are described as "rational," well-clothed and as wearing jewels. Their craft, moreover, carried a cargo of textiles and other manufactured material. The three women, who were relatively fair-skinned, proved to be excellent seamstresses. They and the two young men, forced to accompany Ruiz to the San Juan, accepted their lot cheerfully, rapidly learned Spanish, and were soon made to understand that they would be conveyed at an early date back to their own country.

These five persons constituted the important nucleus of the "friendly Indians" during the subsequent episodes at the islands of Gallo and Gorgona. Before the end of the year, they were taken to Tumbes as accomplished interpreters, permitting Pizarro to open negotiations and even to carry on a long dialogue, which was searching on both sides, with an aristocratic *orejón* who was visiting Tumbes on a mission from Cuzco.

The remaining plans for a technique of oral communication during the conquest are, of course, well known. Two or more Indian youths of unfortunately inferior mental and social status, including "Martinillo" and "Felipillo," were taken by Pizarro from northern Peru to Panama and Spain, and ultimately back to Tumbes and Cajamarca. Felipillo, at least, continued his odious career until he was executed and quartered, by order of Almagro, in 1535.

METEOROLOGY IN RELATION TO THE CONQUEST

In September, 1532, Pizarro commenced his march toward Cajamarca, with approximately two hundred men, a considerable proportion of whom were mounted.



Landscape typical of the terrain encountered by Pizarro along the Pacific coast of Colombia. Mount Araná, behind Cape Corrientes, bearing north, September 13, 1937. R. C. Murphy.



Modern sea-going balsa from Sechura, similar to the craft captured by Bartolomé Ruiz. Off the southern coast of Puná Island, Ecuador, February 24, 1925. R. C. Murphy.

Among those familiar with Sechura and other vast desert areas in northern Peru, it has long been a source of marvel that the Spaniards and their beasts could subsist along the route they followed, and it has been suggested that the expedition chanced upon one of the rare *años de abundancia*, or seasons of abundant water and ephemeral vegetation in a land that is usually bone-dry.

Stratigraphic evidence of rainy years in this region is plentiful, but it has never been precisely dated. However, the early months of 1819, 1823, 1852, 1859, 1878, 1891 and 1925 are known to have been periods of heavy precipitation. Reckoning backward from each of these years to the sixteenth century, it can be shown that 1532 would either coincide with, or fall within two years of, a theoretical peak in the regular seven-year rainfall cycle of northern Peru. While there is known to be a certain variability that makes an actual yearly date of rainfall not wholly predictable in any given instance, it is probable that the successive nodes in the cycle remain constant over secular periods.¹⁶

THE CHRONOLOGICAL RECORD

1501

Rodrigo Galván de Bastidas discovered the Gulf of Darien.

1511

Vasco Núñez de Balboa ascended the River Atrato.

1512

Balboa conquered the Caribbean province of Darien.

1513

September 29.

Balboa reached the Pacific, marking the first European crossing of the Isthmus. Francisco Pizarro, who had been in America since 1509, was associated with him in this and earlier ventures.

1514-1515

Gaspar de Morales and Pizarro sailed to the Pearl Islands, in the Gulf of Panama and also crossed to the southern coast of the Gulf of San Miguel, into territory of the cacique Birú.

¹⁶ R. C. Murphy, "Oceanic and climatic phenomena along the west coast of South America during 1925," *Geog. Review*, XVI (1926), 26-54.

1515-1518

Pedro Arias de Ávila, Tello de Guzmán and other Spanish leaders examined the coasts of the Gulf of Panama as far south as Point Garachiné and westward to Cape Mala.

1519

Arias, first governor general of Castilla del Oro, founded Panama. The title of city was conferred upon the settlement either two or three years later by the Emperor Carlos V.

1522

February 21.

Gil González de Ávila sailed from the Pearl Islands, explored the Pacific coast to the north of Cape Mala, "made Christians" of 32,264 Indians, and subsequently returned to Panama with 146 pounds worth of pearls and a considerable quantity of gold. García de Jaren, one of Pizarro's later associates, accompanied this expedition.

1522-1523

Pascual de Andagoya sailed from Panama into the Gulf of San Miguel and entered one or more of its large rivers. He then marched (*sic*) for six or seven days into the territory of Birú, east of the Baudó range. Subsequently he cruised southward for a short distance along the Pacific coast, but probably not beyond Piñas Bay.

1524

May 17.

Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Fernando de Luque began their preparations, building one new ship and rehabilitating another. It was estimated that the proposed expedition would cost 20,000 castellanos or 200 pounds weight of gold.

November 14.

Pizarro, in possession of Andagoya's report, sailed from Panama with about 112 Spaniards, of whom 80 were soldiers enlisted chiefly at Nombre de Diós. He also carried at least 17 Indians and negroes and four horses; one large canoe accompanied his ship. He touched at Taboga Island, took in wood, water, and hay at the Pearl Islands, and then, disregarding the advice of Andagoya, began inspection of the continental coast just south of Point Garachiné. The slightly sheltered beaches at Caracoles and Escondido were, presumably, among the numerous "ports" at which the party landed before the ship entered Piñas Bay. Leaving the vessel at anchor, Pizarro then marched (*sic*) for three days up the course of the "River Birú," which was the Jaqué.

1525

January 23.

Pizarro entered one of the coves of Humboldt Bay, north of Point Marzo, which, after subsequent experience, he called "Puerto de la Hambre." He then sailed southward for ten days, making extremely slow progress because of frequent reconnaissance and the existence of a northward-flowing inshore current which persists along this stretch of coast even during the season of northerly winds.

February 2.

He discovered "Puerto de la Candelaria." Provisions had now run low and, finding few inhabitants and no supplies, the party returned to "Puerto de la Hambre," which acquired its name during the next two months.

About February 10.

The ship, under command of Gil de Montenegro, was dispatched to the Pearl Islands, while Pizarro and his hungry and dwindling band camped ashore. Sea food culled from the beach, palm tops and dubious fruits were ultimately supplemented by a boiled cow-hide which had served as a cover for the ship's pump. A few edible supplies were obtained by raiding a distant Indian settlement on the very day of Montenegro's return at the end of March.

About March 17.

Ten months after beginning preparations, Almagro and not more than fifty Spaniards and a total of seventy men, sailed from Panama in the second vessel, with the object of joining Pizarro. They put in at the Pearl Islands, Piñas Bay and other stations, finding traces of the earlier party in the form of trees that had been felled or notched, as prearranged.

About March 29 (47 days after departure).

Montenegro, who had had a slow voyage on the northward course, returned from the Pearl Islands to "Puerto de la Hambre" with provisions. Nearly thirty of Pizarro's men had died.

April.

After a few days of recuperation, the survivors embarked and resumed the southward voyage to "Puerto de la Candelaria." Investigating the country more carefully than before, they discovered a small settlement of Indians two leagues back from the sea, and here probably obtained the first gold artifacts of the expedition. They also noted the first signs of native cannibalism. They then proceeded southward to an anchorage in or near the Bay of Solano, which

Pizarro did not name but which Almagro later called "Pueblo Quemado."

At this place Pizarro found a palisaded settlement within a league of the sea. Here he wished to make an encampment while awaiting the expected arrival of Almagro, but serious fighting with the Indians developed after the Spaniards had seized stores of food and gold ornaments. In combat five members of the party were slain and seventeen wounded, Pizarro himself suffering seven wounds, the least of which was dangerous. Unable to maintain his position, and with a clear comprehension of the meager resources of the coast to the north, Pizarro therefore headed the vessel directly for the Isthmus, which, sailing before the prevailing wind of the season, he attained quickly. On this passage his course doubtless lay to seaward of Almagro's southbound and coasting vessel.

Pizarro encamped with his able-bodied men at Chicamá, unwilling at this juncture to appear in person before Governor Arias. He sent his worm-eaten craft and the small quantity of loot to Panama, under command of Nicolás de Ribera.

May.

Ribera made the voyage by way of the Pearl Islands, where he learned that Almagro had passed southward; Ribera left a message telling of Pizarro's presence on the Isthmus.

May and June.

Almagro, who had agreed to skirt the coast closely, continued southward, investigating the shoreline and making many landings. Contrary to numerous later accounts, however, he passed the site of Pizarro's major engagement with the Indians without discovering their stronghold. After being the first European to round Cape Corrientes, he explored the valley of a great river which he named the "Baeza" (= Baudó).

June 24.

Almagro reached the delta of the San Juan, at Point Charambirá. He admired the pile-built dwellings of the Indians and the plantations on the higher and inhabited land close to the river banks. The size of the native population seems to have deterred him from making any extensive investigation ashore.

July.

Almagro turned northward, still maintaining a close search for his partner. On this course he arrived at the site of Pizarro's principal battle with the Indians, at or close to the Bay of Solano. He encamped and built a palisade, but the Indians took the initiative

in opposing this second visit of the Spaniards, and in a sanguinary encounter Almagro would have been killed but for the valor of a negro slave. The Spaniards burned the settlement, which accounts for the name bestowed, "El Pueblo Quemado."

July or August.

Almagro reached the Pearl Islands, where he received the message left by Ribera. He thereupon crossed over to Chicamá and rejoined his leader. Pizarro had with him only about twenty survivors of his voyage, all in poor health because of the unwholesomeness of the rainy season in the low country about Chicamá.

At this point there is a puzzling and unreconcilable disagreement among the chroniclers as to whether Pizarro remained at Chicamá or returned to Panama with Almagro. The weight of probability is with the former alternative, because Pizarro is known to have had the fear of being restrained by Governor Arias, who disliked him. Moreover, it is recorded that Almagro found Pizarro's ship at Panama to be practically in ruins. Furthermore, Arias promoted Almagro to the rank of co-leader of the expeditions, which might have been difficult in the presence of the commander.

On the other hand, it would seem unlikely that Pizarro was *in absentia* at the time of the signing of the contract that preceded the next venture. One or more accounts say that Almagro subsequently went to Chicamá to fetch Pizarro, but the date is unrecorded.

1526

March 10.

Pizarro, Almagro and Luque executed their joint agreement at Panama. Pedro Arias de Ávila had relinquished his quarter stake in the enterprise, which had cost him nothing, in return for a payment of 1000 pesos. Almagro enlisted about 170 soldiers, repaired or replaced the vessels and obtained supplies.

November.

Pizarro sailed (joining his ship at Panama or Chicamá?), to be followed by Almagro. (Fernández de Oviedo alone states that the departure of Almagro was delayed until January 8, 1527; other early authorities credit the units with leaving Panama within a few days of each other). The new expedition had, at any rate, two ships, three large canoes, and about 200 men, including the Indians and negroes. About 130 members of the first expedition were dead, but most of the survivors appear to have re-enlisted. The pilot, who accompanied Pizarro's vessel, was Bartolomé Ruiz de Estrada, an Andalusian navigator from Mogué.

1527

January.

After being greatly delayed by the head winds of November and December, the vessels met at the River San Juan. Near the Boca Togoromá, the most northerly of its mouths, which was called "Cartagena," the Spaniards captured several Indians for information. They then investigated the neighborhood of the delta and cruised beyond it as far as Palmas Island before storming and burning several riverine villages and establishing an encampment.

February.

Almagro returned to Panama with treasure, to seek supplies and reinforcement.

Ruiz, sent southward with ten Spaniards on an exploratory voyage in the other vessel, discovered Gorgona Island, where his craft was becalmed and nearly stranded by the ocean current that here sets strongly toward the mainland coast. He then put in at Gallo Island, north of the Bay of Tumaco. Next he crossed the broad Bay of Ancón de Sardinias and, on February 24, anchored in the Bay of San Mateo, near the mouth of the River Esmeraldas. Proceeding thence, he rounded Cape San Francisco before the northerly winds and crossed the equator, naming the next headland Cape Pasado. According to one or more accounts, he sailed at this time as far as Salango Island.

Off the coast of Ecuador, Ruiz captured the Peruvian balsa which supplied the first tangible indications of the rich empire of the Incas. April (70 days after departing from the River San Juan).

Ruiz rejoined Pizarro, bringing his important captives. The party at the mouth of the San Juan had suffered numerous casualties from disease, caymans, and Indians. It is recorded in the chronicles that the new recruits from Spain fared worst in enduring the vicissitudes of the wet, tropical country.

Shortly afterwards, Almagro returned from Panama with provisions, horses, and men, the number of his new recruits being variously stated as from twenty-four to fifty or more. His return to the San Juan within less than three months was a notable feat. Pedro de los Ríos had succeeded Arias as governor general in the preceding July, and his confirmation of Almagro's rank as equal to that of Pizarro apparently served to increase an incipient distrust between the two old friends and associates.

The reunited forces beat southward against contrary winds, from which they sought shelter for two weeks at the Gallo Island anchorage before going on to the estuary of the River Esmeraldas.

May.

Persistently unfavorable winds thwarted further advance by sea, and a large force of Indians attacked the Spaniards at least twice a day. The invaders might have been overcome, indeed, but for the management of several small pieces of artillery by Pedro de Candia. At this time a negro escaped and joined the hostile Indians, to prepare much trouble for the final Spanish expedition in 1531.

In the neighborhood of Tecames the Spaniards could muster less than a hundred troops, exclusive of sailors and retainers. After loading up with pilfered foodstuffs, they therefore retreated to the River Santiago, thirty-five miles northeast of the Bay of San Mateo, where they lay for eight days before returning to the more secure haven of Gallo.

Discontent was now brewing, owing to the failure of the expedition to attain any signal success. A quarrel between Pizarro and Almagro all but resulted in bloodshed.

Almagro sailed again for Panama, seeking a hundred new men, horses, and stores. He seized all the letters sent home in his ship in order to suppress tales of despair and disaffection, but a message secreted in a ball of yarn by a soldier named Juan de Saravia came to the attention of Pedro de los Ríos, who forebade further recruiting at Panama and restrained Almagro from sailing southward again.

Probably June.

Pizarro, remaining at Gallo with about eighty-five Spaniards, made the desperately defiant gesture of sending home all his discontented followers (number not recorded) in his sole remaining vessel, under command of the loyal and determined pilot, Ruiz.

In the meanwhile the indefatigable Almagro had purchased a ship at Nombre de Diós and had sent it to Santo Domingo in search of footloose adventurers who might enlist for the next shift.

July.

Pedro Alonzo Tafúr arrived at Gallo, with two ships and Ruiz as guide, with peremptory orders from Pedro de los Ríos to bring the entire contingent home. Pizarro, fortified by encouraging messages from Luque and Almagro, made his famous exhortation and induced thirteen Spaniards (identified, in the present century, by Carlos A. Romero) and one mulatto to remain with him. Tafúr refused to leave either ship, but grudgingly provided the diehards with a quantity of corn and other supplies. Ruiz returned to Panama, but only with the object of furthering the undertaking.

Gallo was no longer safe for the small, marooned party. Further-

more, noxious insects so tormented the Spaniards that they had to bury themselves in the sand for relief. Pizarro and the thirteen, the negro, the five Indians from the Tumbes balsa and probably several pacified captives from the Esmeraldas district transported themselves and their stores by canoe and raft to the more remote island of Gorgona, about seventy miles to the northeast. The prevailing wind and coastwise current made this move a relatively simple matter.

At Gorgona, Pizarro exhibited Job-like patience, encouraging his followers, fishing daily from a canoe and shooting agoutis and guans or native "turkeys" with his crossbow. The Spaniards were also "very regular at prayers."

September.

Ruiz started southward from Panama with the governor's permission for Pizarro to proceed with his exploration but with orders for him to report at Panama within six months. Ruiz brought only a crew sufficient to work the ship, and no soldiers.

October.

The ship was presumably signalled as Ruiz approached Gorgona. Pizarro and his companions had been inactive at Gallo and Gorgona for about five months. (Two of the early chroniclers state seven or eight months, a confusion perhaps referring to the first discovery of Gallo in February, by Ruiz. At that date Pizarro, at any rate, was similarly immobile at the mouth of the San Juan).

Leaving two ill Spaniards in care of two or more Indians at Gorgona, Pizarro at once sailed southward with Ruiz and only twenty-six men, not counting the captives. On this voyage they strove to keep the vessel well to west of the coast. There is no record of a landing until they had progressed more than four degrees of latitude and had passed Cape San Lorenzo. They then went ashore at La Plata Island and found textiles, objects of silver, etc.

November (20 days after leaving Gorgona).

Pizarro arrived off Santa Clara or El Muerto Island, in the Gulf of Guayaquil, where he landed. He was informed by the Peruvian Indians on board that he had reached the northern limits of their country. On this day and the following he overhauled five sailing balsas and opened favorable negotiations through the medium of his now proficient interpreters. He crossed the gulf to Tumbes and sent his captives and new guests ashore as emissaries.

Late December.

Pizarro attained his southernmost point on the Peruvian coast. This is usually placed at the River Santa, but there is some evidence that it was farther south.

1528

February.

Pizarro, again at Tumbes, turned homeward, taking three Indian youths to serve as subsequent interpreters and leaving two or more members of his own party among the Indians. He next stopped at Gorgona Island to pick up the single survivor of the Spaniards who had remained there.

March.

Pizarro arrived at Panama on the last day of the term that had been allotted by the governor. (Zárate alone states that he reached Panama "toward the close of 1527." Most later historians credit him with an absence of eighteen months on this voyage, whereas it could hardly have been more than fifteen). Shortly thereafter Pizarro sailed for Spain.

1530

December 28.

Pizarro sailed from Panama on his final voyage with two ships, one or more dugouts, 150 or more Spanish fighting men, a total complement of 230 souls and horses variously enumerated as from 27 to 40. Almagro remained at Panama to recruit additional men and supplies, the source of the volunteers being chiefly the estates in Hispaniola. (Alternative dates named in two of the chronicles fall in January, 1531, but it is probable that departure promptly followed a mass of dedication attended by the party on December 27, 1530).

1531

January (13 days after leaving Panama).

Driven by northerly winds, Pizarro made a rapid passage to the mouth of the River Esmeraldas. There is disagreement among the authorities as to why he headed for this bourne instead of Tumbes, and as to whether, indeed, it was a question of choice or necessity. He sacked Caraques while proceeding overland toward the Gulf of Guayaquil, a journey which occupied the greater part of a year. During this period, his ships worked southward abreast of the land party. In March reinforcements arrived from Guatemala and Nicaragua.

December 25.

The Indians of Puná Island engaged in battle by the Spaniards.

1532

January.

Tumbes captured. Several months thereafter were spent in consolidating the Spanish hold on northern Peru.

May 24.

San Miguel de Piura, the first Spanish town in Peru, founded on the banks of the River Chira.

September 24.

Pizarro began his march toward Cajamarca.

November 16.

Atahualpa captured.

ROBERT CUSHMAN MURPHY.

American Museum of Natural History.

BRITISH MEDIATION BETWEEN SPAIN AND HER COLONIES: 1811-1813

There has long been a gap in the account of the diplomatic relations between England and Spain during the Peninsular War. The British offer of mediation between Spain and her rebellious colonies has been called "one of the most obscure points" in Hispano-British relations.¹ These negotiations formed the basis for the renewed offer of mediation after the defeat of Napoleon,² which offer, when rejected, served as a step which led to the Monroe Doctrine and to Canning's boast of having called "the New World into being to redress the balance of the Old."

The keen rivalry for colonial resources by Britain and France became vital when Napoleon's continental system made England seek compensation in the New World. England was prepared to liberate the Spanish colonies when Napoleon decided to win all by a conquest of the Iberian Peninsula and the Spanish Empire. When Spain, a lukewarm ally, rebelled against the rule of Napoleon, England found in rebellious Spain an ally against a common enemy.³

Both England and France were forced to reverse their policies regarding the Spanish colonies. England ceased to promote revolution and sought only trade and treasure which she could share with Spain while fighting France. Failing to win Spain and her colonies, Napoleon reversed his policy and established an elaborate organization in the New World to

¹ Wenceslao Ramírez de Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra durante la guerra de la Independencia* (3 vols., Madrid, 1912), II, 366.

² The second phase has been told by C. K. Webster, "Castlereagh and the Spanish Colonies," *English Historical Review*, XXVII (1912), 78-95.

³ For the British plans see Duke of Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches and Memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur* (15 vols., London, 1858-1872), VI, 38-62; W. S. Robertson, *The Life of Miranda* (2 vols., Chapel Hill, 1929), II, ch. xv; and John Rydjord, *Foreign Interest in the Independence of New Spain* (Durham, 1935), ch. xv, "Castlereagh and Wellesley."

promote the independence of the Spanish colonies.⁴ This, he thought, would divert his enemies and deprive them of America's treasure.

Spain did not trust her new ally and accused her of fomenting revolution and of trading with the rebels. Lord Liverpool, British minister of war, declared on June 29, 1810, that the British would oppose any action which might separate the Spanish colonies from the mother country as long as Spain continued to resist Napoleon and as long as there was any hope of a favorable outcome. He did admit, however, that if Spain had the ill fortune to be subjugated by the common enemy, England would aid the colonies in maintaining their independence against the rule of France. England renounced any intention of acquiring territory for herself, but expressed the hope that Spain would generously open the commerce of the colonies to the world in order to get every advantage which the crisis demanded.⁵ But it was no easy matter for the old rivals to forget their differences and to work as allies.

The direction and execution of British policy in Spain became for a brief period almost entirely a family affair of the Wellesleys. The Marquis of Wellesley had been minister to Spain in 1809 but had resigned at the end of the year to become foreign secretary. His brother Arthur, in whom he had much greater confidence than had many others in England, led the British army in the Peninsular War. Henry, the younger brother, came to Spain in May, 1809, as secretary of the embassy, and, upon the departure of the Marquis, became envoy-extraordinary, thus completing the family organization or the Wellesley triumvirate, so arranged in order to get united action.⁶ But neither in England nor in Spain did this produce complete harmony.

⁴ For an account of Napoleon's project see John Rydjord, "Napoleon and the Independence of New Spain" in *New Spain and the West* (Lancaster Press, 2 vols., 1932), I, 289-305.

⁵ Liverpool to Layard, Downing Street, June 29, 1810, reported by H. Wellesley to Sec. of State, Cádiz, August 16, 1810, J. E. Hernández y Dávalos, *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de la Guerra de Independencia de México de 1808 á 1821* (6 vols., Mexico, 1877-1882), II, 204-205.

⁶ Percy M. Thornton, *Foreign Secretaries of the XIX Century to 1834* (second ed., 8 vols., London, 1881), II, 15-18, 26-36.

It became Henry's duty to explain and to justify England's actions. Spain, irritated and provoked by the British dealings with the insurgents, hesitated to accept the suggestion of the Marquis of Wellesley that she remove her restrictions on British commerce during the war. But the financial strain of keeping up the war against Napoleon was so serious that a compromise was necessary.

Don Eusebio de Bardaxí, the able minister of state in Spain, appealed to the British for four million pounds sterling, offering the revenue of Mexico as security. But, as Napoleon had planned, with the revolution under way, this was no longer good security, and Henry Wellesley considered it inadequate. When Bardaxí lowered his request to two millions only, Wellesley urged his government to consider it as a basis for securing a favorable commercial treaty. He was so vitally moved by the urgency of the Spanish plea and so deeply confident of securing a commercial treaty that he actually gave Spain a letter of credit for 1,500,000 pesos. His brother agreed to pay, but warned Henry against a repetition of such action. Henry Wellesley realized that England would pay generously for a commercial treaty, but he did not fully appreciate the jealousy with which Spain guarded her control over the colonial trade.⁷

Furthermore, Spain assumed that England, as an ally, should act against all enemies of Spain, including the rebellious colonies themselves, even to the extent of using her fleet to blockade the rebels.⁸ On the other hand, Spain was criticized by the English for her blockade of colonial ports against British trade, especially since the Spanish fleet was stored, repaired, and paid for by Great Britain. Only by securing trade could England afford to give aid. This trade alone, said the Marquis, made it possible for the allies to continue the war against Napoleon. Spain was also criticized for making no effort to reconcile the colonies by granting necessary concessions.⁹ Such criticisms were probably justified,

⁷ Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra*, II, 376-381.

⁸ From the extract of a letter by Alexander Mackennon, Buenos Aires, January 15, 1811, A.G.I., Estado, América en General, legajo 2.

⁹ Marquis of Wellesley to Henry Wellesley, May 4, 1811, *ibid.*

but scarcely conducive to winning the favor of a sensitive people.

Obviously something had to be done if the allies were to overcome their differences and defeat Napoleon. Henry Wellesley admitted in April, 1811, his inability to remedy the situation.¹⁰ But the letter written by the Marquis on May 4 contained the seed for a solution. The British dealings with the rebel colonies were justified as a means of keeping them from falling into the hands of Napoleon, and the colonies might "consider the British Government, as a safe and honorable channel of reconciliation" with Spain.¹¹

Within a few days this idea had developed into a complete plan. England proposed to act as the mediator between Spain and her rebellious colonies, put an end to the hostilities, make the resources of America available, and save the colonies from Napoleon. The plan had been approved by the Pope and the British optimistically felt assured of success.¹² But they had not adequately considered the caution, the suspicion, and the procrastination of the Spanish government.

Henry Wellesley presented the proposal to Eusebio de Bardaxí on May 27, with emphasis upon the advantages to be derived from allowing Great Britain to share in the colonial trade.¹³ On June 1 Bardaxí, on behalf of the Regency, presented the offer to the Spanish cortes.¹⁴ It was considered by the Regency to be the best and perhaps the only means by which the difficulty could be settled. However, the Regency would guard the interests of Spain, and with its recommendation for favorable action, it included reservations which were not acceptable to the British.

The offer of mediation was both disturbing and attractive to Spain. She could hardly believe that the colonies were out of control, nor did she think that the situation was one which

¹⁰ H. Wellesley to Marquis of Wellesley, April 24, 1811, *Villa-Urrutia, Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra*, II, 384, note.

¹¹ Marquis of Wellesley to H. Wellesley, May 4, 1811, A.G.I., Estado, América en General, legajo 2.

¹² Marquis of Wellesley to H. Wellesley, May 11, 1811, *ibid.*

¹³ H. Wellesley to Bardaxí, May 27, 1811, *ibid.*; also in *Villa-Urrutia, Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra*, II, 384.

¹⁴ A.G.I., Estado, América en General, legajo 2.

justified the interposition of a foreign power. After all, it was really a family affair, and not a difference between two independent states. It was admitted that England deserved special consideration, having shed her blood for the cause of Spain against the "pestilential influence" of Napoleon, but the cortes cautiously withheld exclusive trading privileges from England. The colonies might share in British trade in so far as that helped to retain their allegiance to Spain, but this was not yet to extend to the independent juntas.¹⁵ With England, commerce came first; with Spain, loyalty.

Not until June 14 did Bardaxí tell Wellesley about the preliminary proposals of the cortes,¹⁶ and not until the end of the month were they finished. These were the conditions:

(1) The rebellious provinces should swear allegiance to the Regency which ruled Spain in the name of Ferdinand VII, and they should send deputies to the national cortes.

(2) They should suspend hostilities during the negotiations, liberate all prisoners, and restore their confiscated property. This should be done reciprocally according to the decree of October 15, 1810.

(3) The Spanish government would consider the complaints and grievances of the persons or villages which had suffered from the conflict.

(4) The Spanish government should be informed of the state of the negotiations within eight months after their beginning.

(5) In order that Great Britain should succeed in the negotiations, and to give her additional testimony of the friendship and gratitude of Spain, the government would grant her trading privileges with the rebellious colonies during the negotiations, retaining, however, the right of the cortes to determine the amount of trade she should have with the Spanish-American provinces not in revolt.

(6) Being anxious to see a settlement made as soon as possible, the Spanish government limited the period of negotiations to fifteen months.¹⁷

¹⁵ Bardaxí to the cortes, June 1, 1811, *ibid.*; and report from cortes June 4, 1811, A.G.I., Indiferente General, 151-6-12.

¹⁶ Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra*, II, 384.

¹⁷ These provisions are summarized from the Report of the Council of Regency, June 29, 1811, A.G.I., Estado, América en General, legajo 2; also in a note of July 19, 1811, Hernández y Dávalos, *Colección de Documentos*, IV, 512-513; and cf. Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra*, II, 384-385.

These provisions already contained well-guarded reservations, but Spain added a seventh and secret article which became the cause for endless argument and finally an insurmountable obstacle. If the mediation failed, the rebellious colonies should be denied the right to continue their commercial relations with Britain. If they frustrated the "benevolent attempts at reconciliation," and if reconciliation were not accomplished within fifteen months, Great Britain should "suspend all communications with the said colonies" and should also, with her arms, aid the mother country to force them back to obedience.¹⁸

This article would place Great Britain in an exceedingly difficult position. By accepting its provisions, she would become an agent of Spain instead of a free mediator. Of course, she was not entirely free as it was, being already an ally of Spain. On the other hand, Britain had long been sympathetic with the independence movement of the colonies. It was a most complex and annoying problem, and only the bond of having a common enemy made it at all reasonable that England should take the side of Spain.

Henry Wellesley first answered the Spanish criticisms, considering them untimely, and explained that England's friendly treatment of agents from the rebellious colonies was to prevent their "listening to the overtures of the Enemy" and to seek an opportunity to reconcile them with the mother country. A "mediating power should maintain the character, or at least the appearance, of strict impartiality," he said, and Britain could not agree to use force against the colonies in case the negotiations failed. To threaten them with war would tend to drive them to friendly relations with the enemy. Wellesley was not sure that England's control of the sea could prevent Napoleon from giving assistance to the colonies, and he added,

if there was an understanding between the Colonies and the Government of France, nothing could prevent the landing of French officers and emissaries in North American vessels, who would effectually dis-

¹⁸ Report of the Council of Regency, June 29, 1811, A.G.I., Estado, América en General, legajo 2.

cipline their armies and instill into the minds of the inhabitants such principles as were best suited to the views of Napoleon.¹⁹

This was not merely a prediction, since Napoleon's emissaries, with headquarters in Baltimore, had been at work for over two years, instigating rebellion in the colonies.²⁰ Napoleon was remarkably successful in keeping the resources of America from being used against him by his enemies in the Peninsula.

Spain, assuming that the legitimate authorities were in control in Mexico, had omitted this province from the proposed mediation, while the British considered Mexico as the point of "greatest importance to the mother country" and the one where the mediation was most likely to succeed. "I understand indeed," said Wellesley, "that the Mexican Deputies have presented a petition to the cortes, representing the deplorable state of Mexico, and requesting that it may be included in the mediation."²¹ The question of including Mexico continued to be a point of controversy to the end of the negotiations.

Spain had little reason for being optimistic in 1811. The French were still in control of most of the Peninsula, and as Wellington is supposed to have said about a British victory, "If Boney had been there we should have been beat."²² The critical political situation in England also endangered the whole Peninsular program, since the Whigs threatened to go so far as to abandon Spain. Speaking of Wellington's early failures, Henry Adams says that an "Englishman might be excused for doubting the policy of wasting British resources in fretting one extremity of Napoleon's enormous bulk."²³ But for Napoleon it was serious.

¹⁹ Henry Wellesley to the Spanish Secretary of State, Cádiz, July 1, 1811, A.G.I., Estado, América en General, legajo 2.

²⁰ John Rydjord, "Napoleon and the Independence of New Spain" in *New Spain and the West*, I, 289-305.

²¹ Henry Wellesley, Cádiz, July 1, 1811, A.G.I., Estado, América en General, legajo 2.

²² J. Fortescue, "Peninsular War," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (14th edition, 1929), XVII, 169.

²³ Henry Adams, *History of the United States* (4 vols., New York, 1930), III (Book V), 269.

The British worked diligently for harmonious coöperation with Spain, but not without involvement in the internal politics of the Spaniards. The failure of Spain to come to an agreement with England caused a crisis in the Spanish government. One of the delegates of the cortes, Don Andrés Ángel de la Vega Infanzón, came to Wellesley with a plan for electing a new regency which would be favorable to England. Wellesley was asked to name candidates who would be satisfactory to him, but he refused at first to make any commitments, upholding his diplomatic impartiality. However, he was soon expressing approval for one and disapproval of another, based primarily on their attitude towards England. This led to all sorts of political plots and intrigues from October until December, 1811, and Wellesley became more and more deeply involved. The pro-British party spread the report that the British would withdraw both their troops and their ambassador if they did not select a regency that was favorable to Wellesley.²⁴

While the proposals for mediation were being tied up with red tape and political rivalry, the Spanish Regency took two steps to settle the immediate difficulties: first, it planned to send an expedition to Mexico; and second, it made a new appeal to England for a large loan to be made in exchange for commercial concessions. The plan to send a military expedition to Mexico rather than accept British mediation met with immediate protest from Wellesley. But the Spaniards answered that this expedition was not only sent at the insistence of the Junta and the merchants of Cádiz, but was paid for by these merchants, and not by the loans from England. The troops to be sent were, of course, inadequate, but Bardaxí argued that Spain had as much right to maintain the integrity of her kingdom in America as in Europe.²⁵

On December 17, the cortes met in secret session and approved a plan to grant Britain a share in the colonial commerce for three years in exchange for a £10,000,000 loan. England should also arm, equip, and maintain an army of 100,000 Spaniards. Spain would impose a duty on British

²⁴ Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra*, II, 391-394.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 395.

goods but duties were to be collected in London. Henry Wellesley, highly incensed when he heard that these negotiations were to be transferred to London, refused to discuss the matter. He intimated that this was a political move to make England appear to be interested only in commerce. However, the Duke of Infantado, who was appointed to handle the negotiations and was said to be in "his second childhood or premature dotage," failed to come to an agreement with England. The Duke had held that continued British commerce with the colonies should be dependent upon these subsidies, whereas Castlereagh held that it should be connected only with the proposed mediation. The Duke informed Bardaxí that he found Castlereagh prejudiced against any loan, although he had promised some aid for the Spanish soldiers.²⁶

In the meantime the election of the new members of the Regency took place in January, 1812. Henry Wellesley's handpicked candidates were defeated. However, the first act of the new members of the Regency was to express to the British minister their willingness to work harmoniously with him, and the next step was to ask him for financial aid. Wellesley helped them out of their difficulties by advancing one million *duros* in order that they might continue the war. The firmness and vigor of the new government encouraged Wellesley to believe that the Spaniards would coöperate with Wellington, but he saw little hope for a solution of the American problem.²⁷

Early in the year 1812 there were changes in the ministry in both England and Spain. Wellesley had reason for not being enthusiastic about the new provisional minister of state, Don José García de León y Pizarro. Villa-Urrutia says that "Pizarro, without being Frenchified, showed a marked partiality for the French and found the aggressiveness and the haughtiness of the English unendurable." Pizarro was also piqued over the fact that Wellesley discussed the problems of the mediation directly with the members of the Regency, while he was left only partially informed. But on April 4 Wellesley repeated to Pizarro²⁸ the protests which he had formerly made

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 396-398.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 398-399.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 399-400.

to Bardaxí.²⁹ He then went to the Regency to urge the removal of the secret article before the arrival of the commissioners whom he had been expecting since January.

Not until April 1, when Castlereagh had replaced the Marquis of Wellesley as the minister for foreign affairs, did the commissioners³⁰ receive their instructions, and about two weeks later they arrived in Spain on the *Grampus*.³¹ Their instructions dealt with the encouragement of commerce and the removal of inequalities between Spain and the colonies. No province should be relegated to an inferior position. The eighth and last article stipulated that, since the colonies were to form an integral part of Spain, they were "to contribute liberally, according to their resources, towards the prosecution of the war in Europe against the common enemy." It was believed that they could not hesitate "to meet with becoming duty and gratitude, an offer so benevolent and so liberal, as that of being at once raised from the rank of colonial dependencies and incorporated into the body of the monarchy itself."³² Castlereagh sent full instructions to Henry Wellesley on the same date, with British views and arguments on the three controversial points which had not yet been solved: (1) the use of force, (2) the exclusion of Mexico, and (3) the silence on commercial privileges.³³ The first was to be rejected. Wellesley later informed Pizarro that it was "entirely inadmissible," and that His Royal Highness "could not approve any secret article in a transaction of this nature."³⁴ No point in the mediation was more important than "its immediate success in Mexico," said Castlereagh, and upon the attainment of "that natural source of her wealth and strength . . . the fate of the war in Europe may turn."

²⁹ January 30, 1812, A.G.I., América en General, legajo 2.

³⁰ Sir Charles Stuart, George Cockburn, and Philip Morier made up the commission with Stuart as chief and Richard B. Hoppner as secretary. Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra*, II, 402.

³¹ C. K. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh* (London, 1925), p. 70.

³² These instructions [April 2, 1812] are from A.G.I., Estado, América en General, legajo 3; and C. K. Webster, ed., *Britain and the Independence of Latin America* (2 vols., London, 1938), II, 317-321.

³³ C. K. Webster, ed., *Britain and the Independence of Latin America*, II, 309-316.

³⁴ April 8, 1812, A.G.I., Estado, América en General, legajo 2.

In fact, Castlereagh would have the mediators start in Mexico. Spain was to be warned that without equal commercial advantages with European Spain the separation of the colonies was "inevitable and at hand." One might even threaten Spain by intimating that commercial exclusion from America would make Britain secretly favor the independence of the colonies.³⁵ Wellesley was well supplied with arguments but he found the Spaniards evasive.

The Regency sent his arguments to the cortes where the plan had originated, and the cortes then transmitted it to the committee which had stipulated the original conditions. This committee, knowing the opposition of the Cádiz merchants, refused to take action, and after three weeks delay decided to leave the modification or suppression of the secret article to the Regency.³⁶ Thus it passed from body to body, each refusing to commit itself. A few of the officials would not and others dared not make any concessions to Britain. Pizarro continued to be aloof, giving no report to Wellesley, nor did he deign to meet the British commissioners who, he thought, were sent to force the hand of the Spanish government. The commissioners waited helplessly for a solution to the controversy over their mission.³⁷

In the meantime another solution appeared on the diplomatic horizon. Napoleon, looking forward to his campaign against Russia, made an overture for peace with England in April. The condition for peace was the acceptance of Joseph Bonaparte as king of Spain.³⁸ The British cabinet justly feared that Napoleon's object was "to wield with new vigor the naval and colonial resources of Spain to the detriment of Great Britain."³⁹ The offer was promptly rejected.⁴⁰ Napoleon was as unwilling to give up Spain and her empire as was England. "Though France may have to continue the

³⁵ Webster, ed., *Britain and the Independence of Latin America*, II, 309-316.

³⁶ Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra*, II, 401.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 402.

³⁸ Webster, *Foreign Policy of Castlereagh*, p. 68; and of. Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra*, II, 130-131.

³⁹ Thornton, *Foreign Secretaries of the XIX Century to 1834*, II, 29.

⁴⁰ Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra*, II, 131.

war for fifty years," he wrote from Russia, "no Bourbon shall ever sit on the Spanish throne."⁴¹

Wellesley continued to be discouraged since neither Bardaxí nor Pizarro gave any promise of removing the secret article requiring Britain to use force in case the mediation failed. Pizarro still talked of subjugating the colonies.⁴² Wellesley's protest of May 8⁴³ finally brought the first promise of success when, on May 15, Ignacio de Pezuela informed Wellesley that the secret article would be withdrawn so as not to "increase the immediate advantage of Napoleon." But Spain partially nullified the concessions by insisting that England act as an ally.⁴⁴ It was with regret that Wellesley saw that Spain was "entirely silent upon that part of the said article which requires that, 'if our mediation should not be successful, we should break off all communications with the Provinces.'" The British would concur in no part of the article, he said, and if Spain would not yield, there was nothing left for him but to tell the commissioners the causes for failure "and direct them to return to England."⁴⁵ Here was a threat to end the negotiations, but Wellesley still expressed the hope that Spain would comply. Two days later Pezuela made another concession when he implied that Spain would withdraw the secret article, providing England would put no obstacles in the way of Spanish efforts in case the mediation failed.⁴⁶

Wellesley expressed satisfaction with Pezuela's concession, and then he tackled the second point, the exclusion of Mexico. "I am now commanded to state," he said, "that Mexico is not only the first object in the scale of importance, but that its settlement seems indispensable to success elsewhere."⁴⁷ Castlereagh supported Wellesley in his view that this point should be made a *sine qua non* of the mediation.

⁴¹ P. Coquelle, *Napoleon and England, 1803-1813* (London, 1904), p. 271.

⁴² Henry Wellesley to Castlereagh, April 24, 1812, Webster, ed., *Britain and the Independence of Latin America*, II, 321.

⁴³ A.G.I., Estado, América en General, legajo 2.

⁴⁴ Cádiz, May 15, 1812, *ibid.*

⁴⁵ Wellesley to Pezuela, Cádiz, May 15, 1812, *ibid.*

⁴⁶ Pezuela to Wellesley, Cádiz, May 17, 1812, *ibid.*

⁴⁷ Wellesley to Pezuela, Cádiz, May 21, 1812, *ibid.*

The Spaniards should realize, he said, "that, if they could still command the resources even of Mexico alone, they would have possessed ample means to clothe, arm, and pay their armies in the field," without calling for financial aid from Britain.⁴⁸ Wellesley also called attention to the dangerous position of Mexico "with North America on one side, and Caracas on the other."⁴⁹

Then Wellesley took up the controversy over British participation in colonial commerce, admitting that this was "the only point of the mediation in which Great Britain can be supposed to have an immediate interest," and at the same time expressing the hope that his candor would not make the Spanish Regency "impute any motives to Great Britain injurious to the spirit with which she is really animated." Economic equality should follow political equality to save the colonies and together they would "constitute an essential bulwark for the liberties of Europe." He closed his letter by asking for broad and ample powers for the commissioners.⁵⁰ He also warned Spain of the danger from loss of support from England and loss of prestige in the eyes of the world.⁵¹ To Castlereagh he wrote, however, that the mediators might proceed without the commercial clause, and allow that to be made a *sine qua non* of accepting their program. It was the exclusion of Mexico that created the greatest obstacle.⁵²

Pezuela replied to Wellesley within the week in a long and comprehensive discussion of the British demands. Wellesley had made the British arguments appear reasonable and just, but Pezuela did equally well for Spain. There were the usual fine phrases regarding the friendly and conciliatory attitude of Great Britain and her representatives, but he still wanted to know if Britain would give Spain a free hand in case the mediation failed. He insisted that the Spanish colonial policy had been as generous as that of the other European powers,

⁴⁸ Castlereagh to Wellesley, May 19, 1812, Webster, ed., *Britain and the Independence of Latin America*, II, 322-324.

⁴⁹ Wellesley to Pezuela, Cádiz, May 21, 1812, A.G.I., Estado, América en General, legajo 2.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra*, II, 405.

⁵² Wellesley to Castlereagh, May 24, 1812, Webster, ed., *Britain and the Independence of Latin America*, II, 325-327.

and that the contrary opinion was due to the falsehood of foreign writers, especially the French.⁵³

Then he presented the Spanish reasons for not including Mexico in the British mediation. The note of June 29, 1811, had specified the Río de la Plata, Venezuela, Santa Fé (de Bogotá), and Cartagena, he said. He then quoted Wellesley as having said that only the provinces refusing to recognize Spain were to be considered; and then he proceeded to prove, rather effectively, that Mexico was on the whole loyal. Furthermore, Mexico had maintained her regular delegates in the Spanish cortes where they had been active in her legislation.⁵⁴

Recognizing the need of making commercial concessions, Spain had granted the British free trade with the colonies during the negotiations, but the Regency would not take upon itself the authority to determine the future commercial policy of the cortes.⁵⁵ His able arguments had only shown the Spanish view and had by no means made any concessions to the British. Nor had he converted the British, who were as firm in their belief in the righteousness of their views as were the Spaniards in theirs. The correspondence of a year had failed to settle the points of controversy.

On June 12, 1812, Henry Wellesley surveyed the whole negotiations in a long letter to Ignacio de Pezuela. He had assumed that the secret article had been "entirely withdrawn," he said, and was "greatly surprised to find the subject revived" with additional proposals. In regard to the Spanish request for absolute freedom of action, he admitted that, "Should the mediation be unsuccessful, Great Britain can have no right to interfere in any other way than by remonstrance, in the measures which Spain may think necessary to take with regard to her South American possessions."

He took issue with all the Spanish arguments for excluding Mexico from the negotiations, and said that he could not conceive how the offer of mediation could be offensive to the great mass of inhabitants who had remained loyal and whose security had been threatened. Nor was there much

⁵³ Pezuela to Wellesley, Cadiz, May 26, 1812, Estado, América en General, legajo 2.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

hope for improvement in the following year, "notwithstanding that the Spanish Government has ventured upon the hazardous measure of devoting to the service of America a considerable portion of the resources at their disposal for carrying on the war in the Peninsula." The British were sensitive on this point. Wellesley emphasized the success of Napoleon in diverting the resources of the allies from the Peninsular War. He added that, "If the number of insurgents is as inconsiderable as it is represented, it is difficult to understand why supplies from Mexico have entirely ceased."

He then surveyed the course of events in Mexico, showing that the revolution was far from being crushed in spite of royalist victories. Excluding the Mexicans from the mediation, he said, would leave their minds "irritated by the idea that they alone are to be compelled to submit by force of arms."

Wellesley was discouraged, but in spite of that he renewed the offer of mediation by suggesting a ten-point program. This included a "cessation of hostilities," a "general amnesty" and "pardon," and a "confirmation of the concessions already made to the colonies." Free trade, except for some preferences to the mother country, an equal opportunity for colonials to share in the highest offices in America, and the recognition of Ferdinand VII and the cortes were proposed. The tenth provision required Spanish America "to coöperate with the allies in the prosecution of the present war against France." Then he added a final challenge by suggesting that they break off the negotiations at once, unless Spain could agree to include Mexico for mediation and accept his latest proposals.⁵⁶

Pezuela submitted their correspondence to the cortes.⁵⁷ He was neither ready to break off the negotiations nor to accept the terms offered by the British government. Wellesley's long note was answered by a longer one from Pezuela, a note of nearly fifty pages. The language of diplomacy came near merging into quibbling, each of the writers accusing the other of misinterpretations. Pezuela still believed that the author-

⁵⁶ Wellesley to Pezuela, Cádiz, June 12, 1812, *ibid.*

⁵⁷ Pezuela to cortes, June 20, 1812, *ibid.*

ities could cope with the situation in Mexico, especially since the conditions there had improved over the previous year. Most of his arguments were a repetition of those which had already been given.

As to Wellesley's suggestion that the mediators would merely inquire into the causes of the insurrections and suggest remedies, Pezuela first pointed out that the colonists were permitted to send representatives to the national cortes where they could easily inform the government of their grievances. But the causes of the revolutions were sufficiently well known, in his mind, and one did not have to send a commission to Mexico to realize that it was Napoleon who had sowed the seeds of rebellion and anarchy. The majority, he believed, were loyal, and the Spanish use of their limited troops to crush the rebellion was upheld as the only means of regaining the resources of New Spain for their common cause.⁵⁸

Thus the argument went on, the English exaggerating and the Spanish minimizing the revolution in Mexico; Wellesley accusing the Spaniards of making no concessions, and the Spaniards declaring that they had already granted nearly all of the ten points in Wellesley's plan. Pezuela closed his letter with an appeal to the British government to continue its powerful influence to save the disaffected provinces from the chaos into which they had been submerged by seditious leaders. He added that he did not anticipate that the humanity and justice of Great Britain would allow her to withdraw from the proposed mediation, and that he had done everything possible to avoid such an unfortunate event.⁵⁹

Four days after having received Pezuela's note, Wellesley had composed his answer. He denied having put "a wrong interpretation" on Pezuela's meaning except in one case, and even there his conclusion would stand, since the Spanish authority would still be inadequate in the eyes of the British minister. The two governments seemed to be far from any agreement. Wellesley frankly admitted that the negotiations had reached an impasse.⁶⁰ Even though the special commit-

⁵⁸ Pezuela to Wellesley, Cádiz, June 24, 1812, A.G.I., Estado América en General, legajo 2.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Wellesley to Pezuela, Cádiz, June 29, 1812, *ibid.*

tee of the cortes might approve of the British proposals, Wellesley had no hope of their passing the cortes itself.⁶¹ His letter of July 4, 1812, was sharp and critical. He blamed Spain for their present difficulties and would

declare distinctly that if the resources of the Spanish government are inadequate for the expenses of the war, one must attribute it to the failure to adopt the means of conciliation and liberal concessions to America, particularly to Mexico, which the British government has often recommended.

He then spoke of England's great aid to Spain during the War, and its great cost—no less than seventeen million pounds annually. When Spain was in need of an army, arms, equipment, and transportation, England supplied them and paid the expenses. And when the British proposed a means for reëstablishing the Spanish resources, the answer was

that it would be incompatible with the honor and dignity of the Spanish monarchy to permit the mediation of its ally in that part of America which provides two thirds of its resources . . . although it is by no means degrading to accept the mediation for other parts of the same continent.

Having built his case by showing that Spain was not doing her part in their joint struggle, he concluded as follows:

It is time to end this painful affair; and even though it seems that the correspondence has been submitted to the cortes for its information, I infer from the tenor of the latest note of Your Excellency that the determination of the Regency is decisive. In this case I have only to ask Your Excellency to consider the mediation terminated, and that it is my intention to request the commissioners to return to England in the shortest time possible.⁶²

To Castlereagh he explained on the following day that his suggestion to the Spanish government that the mediation be terminated was the only means of getting action, since the Spaniards feared failure and the bad impression which the return of the commissioners would produce in England. And

⁶¹ Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra*, II, 407; Wellesley to Castlereagh, July 5, 1812, Webster, ed., *Britain and the Independence of Latin America*, II, 329-331.

⁶² From the Spanish translation of Wellesley to Pezuela, July 4, 1812, A.G.I., Indiferente General, 151-6-12.

Britain, having done her duty, would be free to make her own arrangements with the colonies. Wellesley would dismiss the commissioners unless he received orders to the contrary. In the meantime the cortes deliberated.

Pezuela, instructed by the Regency, answered Wellesley on the seventh. He granted the claims of generosity on the part of Great Britain during the Peninsular War, but he also came to the defense of Spain. One must not lose sight of the fact, he said, "that the war is of equal interest to both nations," and that Spain, too, had made great sacrifices in checking the progress of the Tyrant toward a universal empire. Spain had given hope for the liberty of Europe, which was surely to the advantage of England. He could not resist the temptation to tell Wellesley what a terrible predicament England would have been in had Spain submitted to the yoke of the Bonapartes.⁶³

The cortes had been informed of the negotiations, he said,⁶⁴ and was called for a special session to consider the British offer at nine o'clock, July 7.⁶⁵ Two days later Wellesley was notified that he would soon get the results,⁶⁶ whereupon he decided to defer for a few days the departure of the commissioners to England,⁶⁷ possibly upon the request of Pezuela.⁶⁸ The members of the cortes did not hurry the matter, and spent six days reading the correspondence. On July 16 the cortes rejected the British mediation by a vote of more than two to one.⁶⁹ After this overwhelming defeat Wellesley could get little satisfaction from the fact that, "with the exception of three, all the American Deputies voted that the mediation should extend to Mexico."⁷⁰

On July 17 the British ambassador was merely notified that the cortes had examined the correspondence and was in-

⁶³ Pezuela to Wellesley, July 7, 1812, A.G.I., Estado, América en General, legajo 2.

⁶⁴ *Idem*.

⁶⁵ Notice by Juan Polo y Catalina, Cádiz, July 6, 1812, *ibid*.

⁶⁶ Note to British Ambassador, Cádiz, July 9, 1812, *ibid*.

⁶⁷ Note to Pezuela, July 9, 1812, *ibid*.

⁶⁸ Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra*, II, 409.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, II, 410.

⁷⁰ Wellesley to Castlereagh, Cádiz, July 18, 1812, Webster, ed., *Britain and the Independence of Latin America*, II, 331.

formed on the subject.⁷¹ This was exasperating, for it seemed as if Spain were merely dropping the negotiations without a word of explanation. Pizarro now boasted that through his resignation he had opened the eyes of the Regency and saved Spain's honor by preventing her from falling into the British snare.⁷² Spain had been unable to adjust herself to a revolutionary change, and the anti-British element had won.

Since Britain and Spain were still allies, neither one wished to drop the negotiations entirely, and each found alternatives for the rejected program of mediation. Pezuela and a few of his friends were preparing arguments to get approval for trade concessions to Britain. Wellesley was conciliatory, but he urged Castlereagh not to win concessions on the basis of loans,⁷³ although that had once been his own method.

Then Castlereagh suggested a compromise. He believed that it had been Spanish pride that had prevented them from submitting Mexico to British mediation. He proposed that the commissioners be given ample powers to act and that the concessions granted should then be extended to Mexico. The necessity of conciliating Mexico was so urgent that he requested the Spanish government to send a Spanish commission immediately to offer amnesty and protection. Britain would appoint a confidential person to assist the Spanish commission to Mexico. In this manner the resources could be secured and Spanish pride satisfied.⁷⁴ This, then, was the new approach. Britain would no longer insist on including Mexico in her mediation, but would send an advisory agent with the Spanish Commission to Mexico and get the same results. These proposals were also presented to the Spanish ambassador in London, Count Fernán-Núñez, with the warning that Britain had "a duty to perform to its own safety, and that the Prince Regent must not be expected to see with indifference the progressive substitution of French for Span-

⁷¹ Note to British Ambassador, A.G.I., Estado, América en General, legajo 2; and Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra*, II, 409-410.

⁷² Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra*, II, 410-411.

⁷³ Wellesley to Castlereagh, Cádiz, July 30, 1812, Webster, ed., *Britain and the Independence of Latin America*, II, 331-333.

⁷⁴ Castlereagh to Wellesley, August 29, 1812, *ibid.*, II, 333-335.

ish authority in that part of the globe."⁷⁵ This was a double threat since it warned Spain not only against Napoleon but also against independent action by Britain.

Henry Wellesley dutifully presented the new proposals to Pezuela,⁷⁶ although he assumed that the Spanish government had already been informed by its ambassador, Count Fernán-Núñez, who had been pleased with the British offer and who hoped for success.⁷⁷ He waited impatiently for the Spanish decision. He had several conversations about the subject with the new Spanish secretary of state, Pedro Labrador; and on October 21, his patience nearly exhausted, he addressed another appeal to him for action.⁷⁸ This time he stressed the unusual dearth of specie. Even Cádiz, the former distributing center for specie, was so completely drained that the usual supply for Wellington's army had entirely ceased. The debt due to the muleteers of the army amounted to over a million sterling, and the pay to the British troops was considerably in arrears. Therefore, it was obvious that the Regency would have to act soon if it were to save the situation.

On November 1 he finally got a reply to his repeated appeals, but Spain was far from being converted to the new proposals. England did not fully understand the causes of the revolution, it was said. Spain evidently did not give England credit for having learned anything from her own colonial revolution. Then, too, the publishing of the Constitution of 1812 was a significant event which had changed the situation. For the first time, it was said, a European nation gave to its colonies equality with the metropolis. No more special favors could be given to their overseas subjects.⁷⁹

The proposal for a special British agent to accompany a Spanish commission to Mexico was only a new point of controversy and vexation. Wellesley explained that the British agent should be a "confidential person," merely to give Brit-

⁷⁵ Castlereagh to Fernán-Núñez, September 2, 1812, A.G.I., Estado, América en General, legajo 3.

⁷⁶ Wellesley to Pezuela, Cádiz, September 26, 1812, *ibid.*, legajo 2.

⁷⁷ Fernán-Núñez to Castlereagh, Spring Gardens, September 5, 1812, *ibid.*, legajo 3.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, legajo 2.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

ish sanction to the negotiations.⁸⁰ Fernán-Núñez added that the agent was only to present ideas to the commissioners and was not to take an active part.⁸¹ The Spanish government was satisfied by none of these explanations. The modified plan was classified as "a new pretension," and was far from reassuring to Spain, leaving her more suspicious than ever as to the British intentions.⁸²

"With a war raging in the Peninsula," Wellesley said, "it is impossible for Spain to detach such a Military Force as shall afford a hope of quelling the disturbances in Mexico." But he could think of no new arguments for the British case, and merely referred Labrador to his letter of June 12.⁸³ Labrador presented a summary of the negotiations to the cortes again on November 11, and the subject was reconsidered in a secret session on the thirteenth. Labrador, like Fernán-Núñez, feared that the British intended to take the side of the revolutionists in case the mediation failed.⁸⁴

England's demands for commercial advantages were reviewed and the Spaniards came to the conclusion that they had already been extended too far. Spain would have England know that her actions were not guided by the "suggestions of the Cádiz merchants," as said by the British, nor would she believe that the true interests of the British were those of "some merchants who aid the rebels of Spanish America, in which country not a single insubordinate town would exist, if unfortunately the British Government had not felt that the interests of commerce demanded the trade of the English with the rebels."⁸⁵ Fully aware of the Spanish irritation at the British intercourse with the insurgents, Wellesley concluded that it was inexpedient to renew the negotiations at that time.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Wellesley to Labrador, Cádiz, November 3, 1812, *ibid.*

⁸¹ Conde de Fernán-Núñez to Labrador, London, December, 1812, Archivo de Simancas, Estado, Embajada de Inglaterra, legajo 8173.

⁸² Report to Fernán-Núñez, Cádiz, January 24, 1813, A.G.I., Estado, América en General, legajo 3.

⁸³ Wellesley to Labrador, Cádiz, November 3, 1812, *ibid.*, legajo 2.

⁸⁴ Labrador to the cortes, Cádiz, November 11, 1812, *ibid.*

⁸⁵ Report to Fernán-Núñez, Cádiz, January 24, 1813, *ibid.*, legajo 3.

⁸⁶ Wellesley to Castlereagh, Cádiz, February 16, 1813, Webster, ed., *Britain and the Independence of Latin America*, II, 337-338.

It is difficult to say whether the dilatory procedure of Spain should be called "Fabian tactics," "Watchful waiting," or merely procrastination. Spain, generally dilatory, unduly cautious, and perhaps justly suspicious of England, jealously guarded her commercial monopoly. She had made up her mind not to extend any economic favors to England. This decision was based on an old policy and a deep-rooted fear of British aggrandizement, a fear which could not be removed by the threat of a Napoleonic domination.

As Napoleon exhausted his resources in the tragic Russian campaign, his prestige declined and his influence in Spain dwindled. Wellington's prestige rose as Napoleon's fell, and after the battle of Vittoria, June 21, Joseph was forced to abandon his tottering throne in Spain.

The subject of mediation was not dropped, but gradually subsided, and was finally allowed to rest without any settlement. A brief note without date told of the departure of the commissioners for England. It contained some conciliatory words to cover the ill-feeling which had been occasioned by the failure of the negotiations.⁸⁷ England continued for years to consider the problems of Spanish America on the basis which she had planned in her offer of mediation. Henry Wellesley had said as early as July 1, 1811, that should the mediation fail at that time, "it does not follow that it may not be resumed with greater advantage at some future period."⁸⁸ And so it was.

After peace had been restored in Europe, it was Spain that reopened the subject and asked for mediation. The British offered to consider it only on the basis of the conditions they had set down in 1812. This second phase of the Anglo-Spanish negotiations is told by the well-known English scholar, C. K. Webster.⁸⁹

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⁸⁷ Archivo de Simancas, Estado, Embajada de Inglaterra, legajo 8173.

⁸⁸ A.G.I., Estado, América en General, legajo 2.

⁸⁹ "Castlereagh and the Spanish Colonies," *English Historical Review*, XXVII (1912), 78-95.

THE RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH SOUTH AMERICA DURING THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

INTRODUCTION

In order to appreciate the change in relations between the United States and the countries of South America during the period of the American Civil War, it is necessary to understand the conditions of distrust and ill will prevalent on the southern continent prior to the outbreak of the conflict. In the preceding years American policy was aggressive and haughty. Neither the dictates of self-defense nor economic interest had demanded that those nations be treated with any unusual degree of tact or consideration. It was self-evident that they could in no way constitute a direct military menace. Neither was the United States held in restraint by extensive trade interests which had to be maintained. During the decade preceding the war South America accounted for but approximately four per cent of its exports and about 9.75% of its imports.¹ Since national interests usually follow the course of commerce, either directly or indirectly, it was not strange that American policies should have been directed toward the more important European markets to the neglect of South America.

Policies and actions were embarked upon with little regard for repercussions among the states of Iberian origin. The filibustering expeditions into the Caribbean area, the statements of officials imbued with the idea of expansion, and the war with Mexico, only substantiated the belief of the peoples on the southern continent that the Colossus of the North was a serious threat to their sovereignty, if not to their very national existence. This feeling was reflected in the conference held in 1856 in which representatives of Chile, Ecuador, and Peru met at Santiago de Chile and signed a continental treaty

¹ Based upon data in U. S. Bureau of Statistics, *Commerce and Navigation of the United States, 1851-1860*.

designed to promote closer ties among all the sister republics. They were animated with strong and undisguised hostility toward the United States. The administration of President Buchanan in no way mitigated this suspicion and enmity.

When the Civil War broke out the Lincoln government found itself in a precarious position. The vital point in foreign relations was to stave off recognition of the Confederacy. The Latin America to which the United States had previously given little consideration now appeared as a serious weakness in the plans outlined in Washington. It devolved upon Seward as Secretary of State to attempt to convince those nations that their welfare lay with the cause of the Union. The Southerners also saw the possibilities in the region below the Rio Grande. In his congressional message of April 29, 1861, President Davis suggested an appropriation for the expenses of sending diplomatic agents to those powers.² It was hoped that as extreme individualists and staunch advocates of national independence, who themselves countenanced internal wars, they would see in the Confederate struggle a parallel to many of their own conflicts and offer encouragement. It is of no avail to speculate as to what might have happened. Whether the Confederacy might have been able to persuade them of the merits of its contention, or not, lies in the realm of speculation. The fact remains that, while the project was conceived early enough, for some reason the only mission sent out was the one to Mexico. No official representative ever went to South America and no official request for recognition was made to any foreign office there. Whether this was due to that indecision so frequently shown at Richmond or whether plans were definitely changed, remains a matter of doubt.

The men sent out to represent the Lincoln government were, with few exceptions, personally well qualified, if not experienced, to carry on the work ahead of them. Thomas H. Nelson in Chile, Christopher Robinson in Peru, and Robert C. Kirk in Argentina, were well equipped for their task. Others such as Henry T. Blow in Venezuela and D. T. Cartter in

² James D. Richardson (ed.), *Confederate Messages and Papers* (2 vols., Nashville, Tenn., 1904), I, 76.

Bolivia were politicians accustomed to activity. Discontented with the stagnation of their assignments, they resigned. The most colorful of the group was General J. Watson Webb, Minister to Brazil, whose chief characteristics were the seriousness with which he took himself and his ability to write voluminous notes in what he believed to be the best legalistic style.³

A campaign was started to sell the idea of the need for a unified United States and the ministers sent out from Washington sought to establish a community of interests between the Union and the South American countries upon which to base their arguments and build good will. The three ideals which they expounded, the abolition of slavery, the preservation of democratic principles, and protection from foreign intervention, had a strong appeal. Slavery had long been abolished on the southern continent, except in Brazil, and the declaration that the war was fought over that issue brought a quick and sympathetic response from the liberal anti-slavery group there as well as in the other nations. The struggle was also depicted as an effort to maintain the duly elected authorities and the implications were that should the Union lose, a severe blow would be dealt to the institution of self-government. This contention was effective among those who knew all too well the tragedy and hardships of domestic war. Fearful lest their encouragement of such a conflict abroad might open them to dangers of civil wars or revolutions at home, they advocated the success of the North in order to remove the temptation of example from their own revolution-inclined factions.

Perhaps the most potent argument espoused by the Washington ministers was that the victory of the South would open wide the way for foreign intervention in Latin America. This applied to interference from North America as well as from Europe. It was claimed that the filibustering expeditions of former years had been inspired in the southern states and that most of the expansionist doctrines had emanated from that section. As there were no Confederate representatives

³ An excellent description of Webb is given in L. F. Hill, *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Brazil* (Duke University Press, 1932), pp. 146-176.

to dispute the story in whole or in part, the assertion remained unchallenged. The United States was also held up as the one stronghold against European intervention in the Western Hemisphere and it was urged that if the country were united and powerful, such foreign encroachments as the French invasion in Mexico would never occur. This aspect of the situation produced a favorable response in many sections where the anti-slavery and democratic questions appealed to only a portion of the population.

PROBLEMS OF UNION AND CONFEDERATE VESSELS

In South America Brazil was the only country which declared its neutrality in the Civil War. In this action of August 1, 1861, the Empire but followed the precedent set by England, France, Spain and Holland, rather than indicating any interest in the welfare of the Confederacy.⁴ The other nations of the continent, at the instigation of the Lincoln government, refrained from recognizing the belligerency of the South, although none of them went the full length demanded by Seward in considering its ships to be "pirates."

Throughout the period of the war the chief problem confronting General Webb in Brazil was that caused by the activities of the Confederate war vessels cruising in nearby waters. These difficulties grew out of the variance in attitude toward the ships. To the Washington officials they were "pirates," to the Richmond government they were "privateers," and in Rio de Janeiro they were considered the "men-of-war" of a belligerent.

The first case involving the extension of belligerent rights to these vessels arose in October, 1861, when the *Sumter* visited the port of Maranhão⁵ where it remained for nine days taking on coal and provisions.⁶ This drew from the American minister a violent protest. It was based on the contention that the object of the vessels was known to be to prey upon Union commerce and that in allowing ships to coal and pro-

⁴ U. S. Department of State, Despatches, Brazil, Blackford to Seward, No. 2, October 4, 1861.

⁵ Given as "Maranhã" in the State Department correspondence.

⁶ U. S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1862, p. 700.

vision, the Empire was but fostering the war. With a boastfulness too characteristic of the foreign relations of the United States in the early stages of the conflict, Webb told one of the members of the Brazilian government:

We cannot go to war with the whole world, but we can suspend Diplomatic relations and all Commercial intercourse with those nations which treat us in an unfriendly and unneighborly manner; and we can treasure up the recollection of the offense to be atoned for hereafter.⁷

There followed a long interchange of voluminous notes and the incident began to assume undue proportions. It was finally settled when, after a change of the cabinet, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Marquis d'Abrantes, assured Webb that there had not been the slightest intention of favoring the Confederacy and still less of being unfriendly or hostile to the United States.⁸ This, coupled with the dismissal of the Governor of Maranhão, which Webb was advised was due to his part in the affair and not because of the reasons officially given, satisfied the Minister and the subject was dropped.

In April, 1863, a more delicate situation arose and was handled with greater consideration by both parties. From the tenth to the sixteenth of that month the *Alabama* was lying in the harbor of Fernando do Noronha. During that time it sailed out and captured the American merchantmen, the *Kate Corry*, *La Fayette* and *Louisa Hatch*, within the territorial waters of Brazil. Evidence was submitted that Captain Semmes of the *Alabama* and the Governor of Fernando do Noronha had been on cordial terms and that the *Alabama* had been provisioned and supplied while in port.⁹ Not wishing to embarrass the cabinet, which was then involved in a political crisis, General Webb merely called the attention of the government to the incident and awaited action on the part of the Emperor's ministers. An investigation was conducted and the Governor was dismissed and proceedings ordered against him on the grounds of neglect of his official duties in per-

⁷ Despatches, Brazil, Webb to Seward, No. 4, November 8, 1861.

⁸ *Foreign Relations*, 1862, p. 715.

⁹ Despatches, Webb to Seward, No. 47 and enclosures, April 27, 1863.

mitting the captures. No Brazilian warship being present at Pernambuco, the local authorities were able to do no more than deny the *Alabama* further hospitality in the waters of the Empire.¹⁰ This met with the General's approval. The fact that soon afterwards the Governor was reinstated for local political reasons brought forth no additional protests from him.

Although the *Alabama*, the *Georgia*, and the *Florida* frequented Brazilian waters at the same time that various Northern war vessels were also on the coast, the two forces had not met face to face. Among the Union ships was the *Wachusett*, Captain Collins commanding. The Minister and the Captain were not on the friendliest of terms due to Collins' constant refusal to obey Webb's commands. As the Envoy described him to Seward:

The Captain of the *Wachusett* is, however, one of your eccentric old sailors, who delight in doing strange things; and more particularly, if thereby, they exhibit a certain recklessness of character, frequently mistaken for independence.¹¹

On August 20, 1864, Webb wrote to Captain Collins advising him of information recently received from the American Consul at Santos indicating that the *Florida* was off the nearby coast.¹² Some time later the two ships met in the port of Bahia and early on the morning of October 7, 1864, in spite of warnings from the Brazilian warship *d'Janneria*, anchored in the same harbor, Collins captured the *Florida* with little disturbance and escaped to sea with his prize. The news of the episode spread rapidly and the excitement at Bahia was great. A few hours later a crowd collected in front of the American Consulate and on learning that the Consul had disappeared, apparently on board the *Wachusett*, stormed the place and caused considerable damage.¹³

Reports of the happenings were quickly carried to Rio de Janeiro where General Webb acted in a manner characteristic of him. He "took the bull by the horns," as he described it,

¹⁰ *Idem*.

¹¹ Despatches, Webb to Seward, No. 87, August 15, 1864.

¹² Despatches, Webb to Seward, No. 90, August 23, 1864.

¹³ Despatches, Webb to Seward, No. 97, October 19, 1864.

and went immediately to the Foreign Office to complain. Finding that an extraordinary Cabinet meeting had been called, he hastened to the house where the ministers were arriving. Before the Brazilians had the opportunity to broach the subject uppermost in the minds of all, Webb stated that he regretted the advices from Bahia but that he had no official report of the incident and that the supposed actions of Captain Collins were unauthorized. He then proceeded to complain about the insult offered to the arms of the United States placed over the door of the Consulate at Bahia which had been torn down and destroyed by the mob that attacked the Consul's office. When the Minister of Foreign Affairs apologized and expressed his regrets at the behavior of the crowd, Webb stated that he "had come forward *voluntarily*, and promptly, to disclaim and repudiate" for himself and his Government, the conduct of Captain Collins and added that beyond all question the action would be formally repudiated by the authorities in Washington.¹⁴

The envoy immediately wrote to Seward that he had advised other American captains to sink any Confederate privateers as soon as they might get them out to sea, under similar circumstances, but that not having discussed such an expedient with the commander of the *Wachusett*, he was unable to predict what the outcome might be. He suggested that if Captain Collins should bring the vessel to the United States, it be "accidentally lost" and recommended that appropriate steps be taken as soon as his despatch should arrive to dispose of the prize which then could not be restored to Brazil.¹⁵

The General's worries were for naught, for while the *Florida* was anchored at Hampton Roads on November 28, it sank. This occurred before the arrival of any official news from Brazil, as Webb's despatch was not received at the Department of State until December 17. The naval inquiries later instituted showed that the loss of the ship was due to a leak enlarged by a collision with a war transport. With this the Brazilian demands were altered and finally simmered down to a public repudiation of the act of Captain Collins, proper punishment of the offending officer, and a salute of

¹⁴ *Idem*.

¹⁵ *Idem*.

twenty-one guns to be given the Brazilian flag in the harbor of Bahia by an American warship.

The conduct of the affair was of no credit to Seward's statesmanship. As Webb had urged earlier, in case such an incident might arise, the affair could be virtually ended by a prompt and handsome apology and a salute.¹⁶ However, these were not now forthcoming and the diplomatic haggling over the cause of the *Florida's* loss, the time involved in investigative commissions, the shift in negotiations to Washington by Brazil and finally back to Brazil at Webb's request, all consumed time. Captain Collins was not dismissed from the service by a court martial until the summer of 1865. On learning of this action, the Brazilian authorities then consented to his restoration to rank as a friendly gesture, inasmuch as the Civil War was over. Under one pretext or another, negotiations and delays over a salute to be given in Bahia dragged on until the summer of 1866. Instructions to give the salute were issued by the United States Navy Department on October 28, 1865, over a year after the seizure of the *Florida*. At that, the orders were sent to Admiral Godan via Valparaiso and were delayed for a long time. The Admiral then waited until naval maneuvers were completed and did not arrive in Brazil until June 28. Finally, on July 23, 1866, Commander F. B. Blake, commanding the U. S. S. *Niepsie*, in compliance with Admiral Godan's instructions, fired the salute of twenty-one guns to the Brazilian flag in the harbor of Bahia, thus bringing the affair to a belated close.

THE RECOGNITION POLICY

The division of the United States and the threat of recognition of the Confederacy by foreign nations called for a cautious policy from Washington in dealing with revolutionary governments in Venezuela, Colombia, and Bolivia. It was felt necessary to withhold recognition in such cases to avoid setting a precedent which might work to the advantage of the administration at Richmond. It was also imperative that causes for grievance should be avoided and the South Amer-

¹⁶ *Despatches*, Webb to Seward, No. 48, May 23, 1863.

ican governments which had come into power either through elections or revolutions should be kept friendly to the North.

The disturbed political condition of Venezuela gave rise to one of the most delicate incidents of the period. On August 29, 1861, Pedro Gual, the legal president, was overthrown and General José Antonio Páez, who had been leading the revolutionists, assumed the presidency, established a dictatorship and suspended the constitution. His control of the country was not complete, but it was as nearly so as that which any Venezuelan government had exercised for some time. The American Minister, Edward A. Turpin of New York, an appointee of President Buchanan, awaited events for one month and two days. He then joined the English minister and extended recognition to Páez as the head of the government. This action was taken without instructions from Washington and in spite of his promise to the State Department that he would be circumspect in recognizing new regimes in Venezuela. Nevertheless, his feeling that Páez controlled most of the country brought him to recognize the authority of the revolutionists, based upon the former American policy of establishing relations with *de facto* rulers.¹⁷

In November, 1861, Turpin was replaced by Henry T. Blow, of Missouri. When the retiring minister presented his letter of recall on November 10, he offered it to Páez as the chief executive of the State. Blow, however, fresh from home and opposed to anything savoring of revolution or civil war, declined to present his credentials but contented himself with maintaining purely social relations with the governmental officials until orders might come from Washington. Seward approved Blow's action in his instruction No. 2 of December 17, 1861, and directed him to continue to abstain from actions which might be construed as recognition of the party in power.

There was little for the minister at Caracas to do at that time and such a life of inactivity was tedious for a man of Blow's nature. He had looked upon himself as an important American official in Venezuela and the circumstances which now existed were a great disappointment. Early in the spring

¹⁷ Despatches, Venezuela, Blow to Seward, No. 1, November 22, 1861.

of 1862 he sailed for home and in his letter of April 2, dated from St. Louis, Missouri, tendered his resignation.

In a short time Lincoln appointed Erastus D. Culver, of New York, as his successor. On his arrival at Caracas in September, 1862, the new representative was unable to find any instructions from the State Department covering the question of recognition. The meager files of the legation contained no orders regarding the question. It later appeared that Blow had received his instructions No. 2 at St. Thomas, on his way home, and had taken them to Missouri.

During the first week in October, 1862, the new minister took it upon himself to recognize the existing government as he believed that circumstances were fitting. Páez had already been in power for fourteen months and relations had been established with the other nations represented at the capital at an early date. Blow's predictions made in despatches, copies of which were on file in the legation, had not been substantiated; serious attempts to overthrow the regime had not been made and no real organized opposition existed except in the interior of the country.¹⁸

Seward's disavowal of this unauthorized procedure was immediate and emphatic. On November 19, 1862, he sent instructions in which he enclosed copies of all previous correspondence bearing on the subject of recognition. In annulling the minister's action, the Secretary of State denied that any question had been raised as to the merits or justice of General Páez's government, or that any inference should be drawn of the United States' favor for any persons opposing his authority. Seward rested his case on the point that the administration was not based on the constitution of Venezuela nor had it ever been sanctioned by the people of the country in an election and that under these circumstances, recognition of the new regime would have the appearance of foreign intervention.¹⁹ Seward's disavowal was based more upon the precarious position in which the United States found itself in 1862 than upon the reasons of political theory officially advanced. The contention that the nations of Europe should

¹⁸ Despatches, Venezuela, Culver to Seward, No. 2, October 8, 1862.

¹⁹ Instructions, Venezuela, Seward to Culver, No. 12, November 19, 1862.

avoid intervention in the American struggle either by mediation or by extending recognition or aid to the Confederate government required that the Lincoln administration should scrupulously refrain from the appearance of interference between the groups in Venezuela until the people of that country had selected a government by legal methods.

The minister replied with a vigorous defense of his actions. His decision to extend recognition was based upon previous instructions which had seemed to indicate to him that he was to exercise his own discretion. In addition, there was no record on file at the legation repudiating Turpin's recognition or approving Blow's policy and exequaturs had been granted to an American consul in Venezuela and a Venezuelan consul in New York during Páez's administration. In all, Culver recited sixteen incidents to support his action.²⁰ Reviewing these reasons, his procedure was not illogical. The responsibility for the blunder lay more with Blow than with his successor. The former envoy's having retained his instructions and papers after submitting his resignation was the principal cause of the misunderstanding.

Regardless of the reasons for the Washington attitude, the minister found himself in an exceedingly embarrassing position. When, on January 12, 1863, he advised the Secretary of Foreign Relations of the position taken by Lincoln and Seward, only the cordial personal relationship existing between Culver and the members of Páez's administration prevented retaliation. The Foreign Secretary declared that in line with the country's self-respect he would have to cancel the consular exequaturs and permits granted during the period of supposed recognition as well as all that had been done toward settling the claims of American citizens.²¹ These steps were never taken, but they always remained a possibility. Through its restraint, the Caracas government sought to assure the Union of its friendship and good will.

In June, 1863, the struggle between Páez and the Federalist party from the interior region under General Falcón came to an end. A peace was signed setting up a provisional

²⁰ Despatches, Culver to Seward, No. 7, January 2, 1863.

²¹ Despatches, Culver to Seward, No. 9, January 12, 1863.

government under the opposition leader and a constitutional assembly was called. On July 25, Falcón arrived at the capital and inaugurated his administration. The Constitutional Assembly elected the provisional president as chief executive to serve until a regular election could be held and, on March 29, 1864, a new constitution was adopted.

With this development, the question of recognition by the United States again became prominent. The Civil War had progressed sufficiently well that the threat of foreign intervention had passed. In Venezuela itself obstacles no longer existed, as the new government was based on popular approval. In view of the changed circumstances the Department of State signified its willingness to establish official relations and new credentials were sent to Culver.

The other instance in which the question of recognition involved complications was in Colombia where the advent of the Lincoln administration found a disturbed political situation. Armed outbreaks had begun a short time after the Clerical-Conservative party assumed power in 1857 under Mariano Ospina as President. By 1861 the fortunes of the Liberals, led by General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, were rising again.

As neither party was in complete control of the country, the American Minister, General George W. Jones, of Iowa, who was appointed under the Buchanan administration, repeatedly attempted to mediate between the two groups in an effort to end the struggle through compromise and conciliation.²² In this intervention he was not joined by the other members of the diplomatic corps who united with him only in interceding to prevent political executions. This unauthorized interference in the domestic affairs of a foreign nation caused Seward much anxiety and the erring minister was replaced by Allen A. Burton, of Kentucky, who arrived at Bogotá in November, 1861.

Before the new envoy left for his post, Seward advised him that apparently Mosquera's forces had seized the capital

²² Despatches, Colombia, Jones to Secretary of State, No. 47 and enclosures, April 14, 1861.

and subverted the government to which his letters of credence had been addressed. He was instructed to establish unofficial relations with the revolutionists and to report whether their administration could be regarded as "exercising the sovereign power by and with the consent of the People of the Republic."²³ The Secretary of State later wrote that it was the policy of the United States not to intervene in civil conflicts by recognizing a revolutionary faction before it was securely established and there remained no doubt that it was the "accepted political authority of the Country."²⁴

Burton followed his instructions and maintained only personal contacts with Mosquera to whom General Jones had presented his letter of recall. He explained the failure of the United States to approve Jones' action as due to the Civil War and the hesitancy of the State Department to set any precedent which might open the way for the recognition of the Confederacy.

The Liberal forces gradually extended their power and by the close of 1862 armed opposition was at last quelled, thus raising the question of recognition. A provisional government was set up with Mosquera at the head and Burton urged that official relations should be established. Based upon the absence of any other government contending for the control of the nation and the apparent acquiescence of the people to Mosquera's regime, recognition was finally extended in June, 1863, by official action in Washington.

The only other problem involving the policy of recognition arose in Bolivia. There, however, immediate solution was not urgent. On December 28, 1864, General Mariano Melgarejo overthrew the legal government of General José María de Achá by a *coup d'état*. This was not a civil revolution but was accomplished by about five hundred soldiers, mainly without officers, and a purely military and despotic rule was inaugurated without legal or constitutional restraint. Early in 1865 the leaders of the new regime entered La Paz without

²³ Instructions, Colombia, Seward to Burton, No. 7, September 24, 1861.

²⁴ Instructions, Seward to Burton, No. 14, January 29, 1862.

opposition and the country as a whole submitted without noticeable resistance.

This government, like its predecessors, was of the roving type and traveled from one place to another. The American Minister, Allen G. Hall, of Tennessee, advised the Department of State that he had never received any instructions regarding the treatment of new governments. He added, however, that previous revolutionary regimes in Bolivia had been extended recognition and, while awaiting instructions, if the authorities should come to Cochabamba, he would recognize them. Nevertheless, the minister was not called upon to take any action as the wanderings of General Melgarejo's party did not bring it to that city before instructions arrived from Seward. As in the cases of Venezuela and Colombia, Hall was advised to conduct the business of the legation informally, if allowed to do so, but not to establish official relations until specifically so directed.

Although the Civil War in the United States was brought to a close within a short time, the policy of non-recognition of governments not based on the consent of the people was continued. However, when Spain came into conflict with Peru and Chile, expediency overcame caution and Seward finally wrote to Hall:

Heretofore your instructions have been not to recognize any government, in Bolivia, which was not adopted through the free will and constitutionally expressed voice of the people of that Republic, but nevertheless, under the peculiar circumstances which surround the questions pending between the South American Republics on the Pacific and the Government of Spain, the President deems it expedient, under the exigencies of the present condition of affairs in that region, to recognize the actual government of Bolivia, if that government has become truly and in fact consolidated since the date of your last despatch. . . .²⁵

Thus when it came to a choice between a united continental front against European aggression and continuance of the practice regarding recognition, the United States found it advisable to change its policy with respect to governments established through revolution.

²⁵ Instructions, Bolivia, Seward to Hall, No. 40, April 21, 1866.

THE THREATENED EXTENSION OF EUROPEAN INFLUENCE

While the anti-slavery aspect of the Civil War made the cause of the North popular in most sections of South America, the moral support extended to the Washington government would probably have been as strong if the conflict had involved less savory principles. This was also true with regard to the contention that the war was fought for the preservation of democratic institutions. Both of these ideals intrigued the South American mind, but while they produced sympathetic interest in the contest, there was little in them which could affect those peoples directly. Alone, they might well have been counterbalanced by a desire to see the United States split into two nations and rendered impotent for future expansion. That this historic threat of the United States was so easily set aside by the explanations of the Union envoys was indicative of the emphasis which was placed on the possibility of European intervention in Latin America.

The French conquest of Mexico and the Spanish occupation of Santo Domingo were accepted as warnings of what the former Spanish colonies might expect if the monarchies were free to follow their inclinations in the New World. The realization of the importance of the outcome of the Civil War was thus brought home to those who saw their continued independence jeopardized. It changed their passing sympathy into a vital interest in the welfare of the Union and made them willing to overlook the possibility of future expansionism from a strong and powerful United States in order to meet the imminent threat of interference from European sources. The events which took place in Ecuador, Paraguay, and Peru served to heighten the tension and increase the feeling of reliance upon the United States for protection from the encroachments of France and Spain.

In Ecuador, the proposed establishment of French domination was sponsored by elements of the pro-clerical, pro-monarchical Conservative party led by García Moreno. In 1859 this group was in revolt against the government and García Moreno conceived the idea of requesting foreign aid. At first the Spanish and French chargés were contacted with the in-

tention of setting up a joint protectorate. Then, fearing that a mention of Spain would engender old fears and hatred and would frustrate the plans, negotiations were carried on with France only.²⁶

After the death of the French chargé, which occurred a short time later, some of his correspondence was stolen from one of his trunks and published in Lima, Peru. The storm of controversy which arose was chiefly over three of García Moreno's letters suggesting the establishment of a relationship between the two countries similar to that then existing between Canada and England. His reasons for advocating such an arrangement were given as "the domestic disorder and anarchy" which were "dishonoring and impoverishing the country" and the rapidly advancing "destructive torrent of the Anglo-American race."²⁷ The authenticity of the letters was never denied and it appeared that the proposal had been received with some favor by the French government.

When García Moreno's group won control and he became President in 1860, his friends stated that he had given up all ideas of foreign protection as all was now peaceful, where formerly the country had been involved in a war with Peru and a revolt at home. Nevertheless, shortly afterwards the constitution was rewritten and the clause holding the president responsible for favoring "the interests of foreign nations against the independence of the republic" was omitted. This gave rise to many grave doubts and suspicions as to the intentions of the government.

Throughout 1861 rumors of a possible French protectorate were revived. Trouble between Peru and Ecuador was given as the principal cause. In December of that year the American Minister, Frederick Hassaurek, of Ohio, reported to Seward that many of the cabinet members were avowed monarchists and great admirers of France. He further stated that "if France were willing to accept . . . a proposed annexation, a most powerful effort could be made here to support the scheme."²⁸

²⁶ Despatches, Ecuador, Hassaurek to Seward, No. 4, August 28, 1861.

²⁷ *Idem*.

²⁸ Despatches, Hassaurek to Seward, No. 10, December 19, 1861.

In September, 1861, when Hassaurek informed the Minister of Foreign Relations that, in the struggle then going on between Peru and Ecuador, he favored the latter, but that French annexation "would be another and very important matter to all the American republics," the cabinet minister replied that Ecuador was a sovereign state and denied the rights of other nations to question its decisions. He added that the proposed plan had been devised at a time of great national emergency but had now been abandoned.

According to Hassaurek, the Minister extended his remarks:

But [he added], if Peru, taking advantage of the disastrous state of our finances, should make a successful war against us; or, if Guayaquil should be again blockaded, and the great powers should recognize the blockade in spite of the injustice of the aggression; or, if Peru, stimulated by her vast financial resources, should successfully use its money for the purpose of stirring up a revolution against the present government of Ecuador, while the same should be engaged in defending the country against [foreign aggression]: *we will accept PROTECTION FROM WHATEVER QUARTER WE SHALL BE ABLE TO OBTAIN IT. We shall not suffer ourselves to be conquered.*²⁹

For a time rumors continued, but there was no actual proof of the activities of the pro-French group. On February 19, 1863, an article appeared in *La France*, a Paris newspaper, claiming that renewed proposals had been made by García Moreno and various citizens of Ecuador to the French envoy for the establishment of a protectorate. The article stated that France had declined the proposition, as not feasible at the time.³⁰ The story was disclaimed to Hassaurek by both García Moreno and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, but no official disavowals were made by either France or Ecuador until April 17, when a denial was published in *El Nacional*, the official organ at Quito. By this time, however, the Ecuadorian government had renounced French control in a communication addressed to Peru, stating that it would now voluntarily explain that there was not, nor ever had been,

²⁹ Despatches, Hassaurek to Seward, No. 5, September 20, 1861. The underlinings are Hassaurek's.

³⁰ Despatches, Hassaurek to Seward, No. 66, April 17, 1863.

a "pact" for incorporation into any foreign power and that the authorities were diligent in preserving the autonomy and the institutions of the country.³¹ Nevertheless, according to the French Yellow Book of 1862, France had refused to accept suzerainty over Ecuador and opinion throughout South America was that the proposal had been made and rejected.

In Paraguay the prospective establishment of a monarchy with the consent of the European powers was based entirely upon personal ambition. At the death of President Carlos Antonio López, on September 10, 1862, his son, Francisco Solano López, assumed the dictatorship of the country. As his military rule developed and the authority of his position began to grow on him, the younger López became intrigued with the idea that his monarchical power should be completed by a regal status and all the accompanying trappings. Very court-like customs were decreed at Asunción and in the neighboring states rumors ran rampant. Throughout Paraguay it was believed during November, 1863, that a Proclamation of Empire was imminent.³²

López first claimed that such a move had been suggested to him by the Emperor of Brazil, an assertion that was never verified. In his despatches, the American Minister³³ gave what was probably a fair explanation of the situation:

I am informed . . . by the French Consul [at Asunción] that President López has been sounding the different powers of Europe to learn how they would regard his Imperial designs and whether they would sustain him and recognize him as one of the legitimate sovereigns and receive the López dynasty into the royal circles. On the other hand, President López tells me that the Emperor of France has shown a disposition to interfere with the affairs of La Plata and has asked the cooperation of England, Spain and Italy in founding a monarchy in these countries—England's answer he said was that the time was inopportune, but that Spain and Italy approved the measure. My belief in regard to the whole matter is that he has asked the approval of Louis Napoleon in making himself Emperor of Paraguay and that the latter has proposed the matter to his royal neighbors.

³¹ Despatches, Hassaurek to Seward, No. 62, March 11, 1863.

³² Despatches, Paraguay, Washburn to Seward, No. 23, November 21, 1863.

³³ Charles A. Washburn of Maine.

He then went on to state that it was understood that the civil disturbances in Uruguay and Argentina had led the European rulers to the belief that if a monarchy should be established, it should include more than Paraguay.³⁴ For this reason, López's plans for a dynasty were doomed to perish.

The whole issue came to naught, however, as the disputes which arose in the Plata region, and the wars that grew out of them, resulted not only in awaking López from his imperial daydreams, but eventually cost him his office and his life.

The third incident in which it appeared that an effort was being made by one of the European powers to extend its influence in South America occurred in 1864 with the seizure of the Chincha Islands by Spain in an attempt to coerce Peru. The situation grew out of labor difficulties, during October, 1863, in which a group of Spaniards claimed a breach of contract on the part of a Peruvian plantation owner. During the affair firearms were used and several of the laborers were killed. News of the incident traveled to Madrid and through the Spanish Consul justice was demanded with the intimation that Spain had sufficient means to enforce her will.³⁵

Early in April, 1864, Admiral Pinzón brought the Spanish fleet to Callao and attempted to treat with the Peruvian officials regarding the controversy in his capacity as a "Commissioner." Peru refused to receive him as such and demanded that a regular diplomatic envoy should be sent. The name "Commissioner" savored too much of the old "Royal Commissioners" of colonial days to be acceptable.

On April 17 the fleet set sail for the Chincha Islands where a proclamation of seizure was issued. This was a strategic step since the islands contained large deposits of guano, the tax upon which formed the government's chief source of revenue. The proclamation of the Admiral, signed in that capacity and also as "Special Commissioner Extraordinary," mentioned that Peruvian independence had not been recognized by Spain. It went on to state that since it was necessary to use force this action had been taken:

³⁴ Despatches, Paraguay, Washburn to Seward, No. 20, November 3, 1863.

³⁵ Despatches, Peru, Robinson to Seward, No. 160, January 21, 1864.

Considering that the property of said Islands can be recovered by the Government of H. C. M. by a right similar to that which Great Britain sanctioned in restoring the islands of Fernando Po, Annobon and [Corsica] after a formal and uninterrupted possession during a considerable number of years.³⁶

Indignation ran high and was as evident among many of the foreign residents as it was among the Peruvians themselves. On April 22, the members of the diplomatic corps met at the American legation and, with the exception of the French chargé, were unanimous in agreeing that under the circumstances the seizure was entirely unjustifiable and the reasons assigned wholly unsatisfactory.³⁷ This statement tended to allay the excitement throughout the country. The English, French, and American citizens resident in Lima and Callao met at their respective legations and adopted resolutions relating to the affair of which the strongest protest came from the Americans and the mildest from the French.³⁸

The United States attempted to settle the question through the use of its good offices, and constantly urged Peru to send a minister to Madrid.³⁹ This the government at Lima refused to do until a representative of the same standing should be sent by the Spanish Court. In the meanwhile, Spain continued the policy of coercion, well aware that the United States was in no position actively to intercede.

The Peruvian congress was vigorous in demanding war with Spain. However, no one wanted to take the responsibility. The shifts in the cabinet, the refusal of the congress to assume the initiative and the fear of the executive to take too strong a stand resulted in a most vacillating policy. When congress finally passed a law forcing the hand of the executive, the commanders of the navy had to admit that they were in no position to fight the Spanish fleet.

In December, 1864, Admiral Pinzón was replaced by Admiral Pareja who also failed in his attempts to be recognized as "Commissioner." Finally on January 26, 1865, the new

³⁶ Despatches, Robinson to Seward, No. 173, April 17, 1864.

³⁷ Despatches, Robinson to Seward, No. 179, April 25, 1864.

³⁸ Despatches, Robinson to Seward, No. 178, April 24, 1864 and No. 184, April 28, 1864.

³⁹ Instructions, Peru, Seward to Robinson, No. 32, February 6, 1863 *et seq.*

commander issued an ultimatum demanding that a minister should be sent to Spain and a "Special Commissioner" be received at Lima to treat regarding the pending labor problem. The Chincha Islands were to be restored, the outstanding claims were to be settled and reparations of three million Spanish dollars, the cost of the expedition, were to be paid.⁴⁰ Due to the presence of the superior naval force and its own weak military position, the Peruvian government could see no other course but to accede to the demands. Although this was a virtual surrender of all they had maintained, nevertheless, for the time being it brought an end to the threat of intervention or reconquest by Spain.

CLAIMS PROBLEMS

The most concrete obstacle to inter-American amity which the Lincoln administration inherited from its predecessor was the chronic question concerning claims. Many of these problems dated from the wars for independence from Spain and the others accumulated through the intervening years in spite of strenuous, if sporadic, efforts on the part of the United States to have them settled. Considerable friction had been engendered by efforts to force adjustment and payment. To many South Americans it appeared that the United States was too zealous in pressing cases regardless of their justice or their actual value. That there was more than an element of truth in this was borne out when the final awards were made.

Under the administration of President Buchanan the State Department had adopted an uncompromising position with regard to the adjustment of many claims. Seward readily saw the danger of the ill will fostered by this policy and upon assuming office adopted a more lenient attitude. He issued instructions to all of the envoys to cease active prosecution of questionable cases in the event the governments to which they were assigned could not be engaged in amicable discussions. In order to prove the friendliness of the Union, pressure was not to be brought to bear when such action might result in economic or political embarrassment to the debtor nations. It was stated, however, that suspension of efforts to obtain set-

⁴⁰ Despatches, Robinson to Seward, No. 261, January 28, 1865.

tlement should in no wise be construed as abandonment of the question, but that discussions would be reopened when circumstances were more favorable.

The outstanding example of the results of this change in policy was shown in the case of Peru. While Lewis Cass was secretary of state, diplomatic relations with that country had been suspended due to claims problems. The point in dispute was the method of arriving at just awards, the United States favoring a mixed commission and Peru insisting on arbitration. The negotiations became deadlocked and Cass ordered a suspension of relations which were severed on October 19, 1860.

When Lincoln assumed office it was decided to reestablish diplomatic intercourse between the two republics. As Seward wrote to Christopher Robinson, who had been selected for the mission, it was felt that while differences had arisen between the two nations, there was nothing in the circumstances which might justify the adoption of military action. The logical solution was to attempt to solve the problem through diplomatic negotiations.⁴¹

The wisdom of this policy soon proved itself and within a short time Robinson was able to reach an agreement with the Peruvian government. This provided that the cases relative to the seizure and confiscation of the *Lizzie Thompson* and the *Georgiana* which were the chief bones of contention in previous negotiations were to be submitted to the King of Belgium for arbitration. The remaining questions were to be settled by a mixed commission. The Belgian monarch later declined to serve as arbitrator on the grounds that the special circumstances involved made the matter one of particular delicacy and rendered it unfitting to attempt to reach a decision at so great a distance from the scene. Doubtful of their validity, the United States then dropped both cases.⁴²

The same policy of moderation and restraint in pressing claims settlements which proved so satisfactory with Peru also produced favorable results with other South American powers. The old problems pending between the United States

⁴¹ *Foreign Relations*, 1861, p. 399.

⁴² John Bassett Moore, *International Arbitrations Digest*, II, 1612.

and Argentina, Bolivia, and Venezuela were handled through negotiation, settlement being readily obtained with the first two countries and eventually with the third. On November 25, 1862, a treaty was signed between the United States and Ecuador, establishing a mixed commission which, however, did not begin to function until 1864, but within two years it settled the outstanding questions. The commission set up under the treaty of 1857 with Colombia did not begin to function until 1860 and the work was not completed when the convention expired. Another pact was negotiated in 1864 to provide for the remaining problems and two years later, with Sir Frederick Bruce, the British Minister at Washington, acting as arbitrator, the slate was cleared of cases. While Seward was not successful in reaching a settlement of all the claims questions which were pending when he assumed office, the policy he adopted and the methods he pursued brought results much more satisfactory than those of his predecessors.

THE SOUTH AMERICAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES

The attempted intervention of Europe in the western hemisphere served but to drive the republics of South America further into the arms of the Washington government. Only in Brazil and Ecuador did the Maximilian regime find any favor and even in the latter country sufficient opposition existed to prevent García Moreno from being able to extend recognition to the monarchy.⁴³ The reported dominance of French influence in Ecuador and the rumored possibility of the establishment of a protectorate, together with the Spanish attack on Peru and the seizure of the Chincha Islands, only substantiated this growing fear of Europe. Whether or not there was any seriously considered plan formulated by France and Spain to reestablish footholds in South America is of relatively minor importance. The motivating factor of the sit-

⁴³ The Brazilian action has been interpreted by Dr. Manuel de Oliveira Lima: "Brazil's acknowledgment of Maximilian's Empire in Mexico may be partially explained by . . . [a] disregard for a foreign sovereignty, although it was mostly due to a need, experienced by the Brazilian Government, of courting European powers—France especially, where a Brazilian battleship was in construction, over which hung an embargo—in view of the war waged by Paraguay." Manuel de Oliveira Lima, "The Relations of Brazil with the United States," *International Conciliation*, August 1913.

uation was that such was believed to be the case and solace was sought in the repeated assertions that the United States would never tolerate a French-supported government in Mexico, but for the time being its hands were tied and action awaited only the successful outcome of the Civil War. A marked change appeared in the attitude of the groups who had long warned against foreign intervention and whose activities had formerly been directed against the United States. Chief among these were the "Unión Americana" in Chile and the "Sociedades Americanas" in Peru which, through newspaper articles, demonstrations, and speeches, greatly influenced public opinion on behalf of the North.

During the early part of the war much of the information appearing in the South American papers was sympathetic to the cause of the Richmond government. This was mainly due to dependence upon the European press for news and by the time reports were received they were strongly tainted by the French and British viewpoints. In addition, some of the foreign correspondents were ardently opposed to the North. Particularly was this true in Peru, Venezuela, and Argentina. From New York City the Venezuelan Consul wrote for the official paper in Caracas and an anonymous journalist sent articles to *El Comercio* in Lima. The Argentine Consul-General in Paris also prepared news reports for his own paper in Buenos Aires. All three were strongly anti-Union. Largely due to pressure from the American ministers the New York correspondents were changed and James Debrin was appointed by *El Comercio*⁴⁴ and J. F. Sánchez became Venezuelan Consul and represented the new official organ *El Federalista*.⁴⁵ Both of these men were partisans of the North. Influence was also exerted on the Argentine Consul General in Paris and the tenor of his articles was modified.⁴⁶ Thus, by autumn, 1863, these three important sources of anti-Union propaganda were silenced.

Throughout the southern continent the chief opponents of the North were the European colonies, especially the French

⁴⁴ Despatches, Peru, Robinson to Seward, No. 129, September 7, 1863.

⁴⁵ Despatches, Venezuela, Culver to Seward, No. 34, September 8, 1863.

⁴⁶ Despatches, Argentina, Kirk to Seward, No. 17, February 15, 1863.

and British, for they reflected the opinions of their home governments. The American ministers assigned to South America all complained at one time or another of the opposition of these groups. Only in Chile did the English adopt a friendly attitude. In all of the countries except Ecuador unpopularity of the French action in Mexico tended to undermine the effects of their anti-Union activities. In Brazil and Argentina the same situation obtained with respect to the efforts of English residents to further anti-Northern propaganda. The treatment of those two nations by Great Britain nearly caused a diplomatic breach with Argentina and eventually resulted in a rupture of relations with Brazil. There, as in other quarters, the unfriendliness of the European powers produced a reaction favorable to the Washington government and to this extent the policies of France and England tended to counteract the efforts of their nationals.

In 1862, the formation of an alliance against European intervention began to receive consideration. Plans were laid for the reconvening of the Congress of Panama of 1826, to meet at Lima, Peru. The United States was invited to join but declined to attend officially owing to domestic strife which made it undesirable to be pledged to any definite course. The United States indicated its willingness to lend its moral support to the Congress. Hostile feelings among some of the States proved a handicap to the Conference, but finally it was installed on November 14, 1864, with representatives present from Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Argentina, Colombia and Venezuela. The delegate representing Guatemala and El Salvador arrived later. Several treaties and conventions were signed covering commerce, navigation and a postal agreement. Provision was also made for united action in case of "foreign aggression" and was directed at the European powers. In such contingencies the signatories agreed to suspend diplomatic relations with the aggressor and to cancel the exequaturs of its consuls. It was further agreed that in case of disputes arising among the republics themselves recourse should be had to arbitration and not to war.⁴⁷ Although none of the treaties were ratified by all of the nations represented

⁴⁷ Despatches, Robinson to Seward, No. 260, January 27, 1865, *et seq.*

at the conference, they indicated the spirit prevalent throughout the continent.

For the first time in many years the conception of the unity of interests of the nations of the New World again appeared. The welfare of the United States was considered of paramount interest and in many countries national holidays were seized upon as opportunities for expressing good will towards the Washington government. Editorials, speeches, demonstrations, and celebrations marked July 4, Washington's birthday, and the local independence days, especially in Argentina, Chile, Peru, and Colombia. Kirk reported from Buenos Aires that it was generally understood that no other minister had ever received such friendly demonstrations in that capital. Argentina and Chile were the first to give serenades by official bands to the American legations on July 4, 1863. This so pleased Lincoln's cabinet that the following September, on the Chilean Day of Independence, an American military band was assigned to serenade the legation in Washington. Since the Argentine national holidays were past before the news of the courtesy extended in Buenos Aires arrived in Washington, similar tribute was not paid to that country.

The attitude of the Chilean government was expressed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in July, 1863, when he reported to the National Congress:

The relations which we maintain with the Cabinet in Washington are something more than cordial, they are fraternal.⁴⁸

While the heads of all of the South American governments expressed themselves at one time or another in terms of varying degree of friendship for the Union cause, the most dramatic statement was made by General Mosquera when he told Burton in a private conversation:

The cause of your government is the cause of humanity and civilization, and the patriotic devotion of your heroic and enlightened people claims the warmest admiration and sympathy from the Christian world. I have devoted a great part of my life to the profession of arms in the defense of Liberty, and expect soon to visit your armies for the purpose of making observations. Should it be acceptable, I am

⁴⁸ Despatches, Chile, Nelson to Seward, No. 97, July 17, 1863.

ready to dedicate my sword and my remaining days to the services of the loyal people of the United States of America. May the Almighty stand by your great and good President and the greatest of earthly causes of which he is the worthy representative.⁴⁹

While the General was never able to make good his offer of assistance, nevertheless it indicated the strength of his convictions.

CONCLUSION

In South America, Seward's Civil War diplomacy was opportunistic in the extreme. With a domestic crisis facing him before he had the opportunity to orient himself in respect to that continent whose enmity towards the United States was becoming chronic, it behooved the Secretary of State to secure the friendship of those countries before they could aid in the destruction of the "Colossus of the North." The development of amicable relations, however, was a means to an end and not a definite goal in itself. As the cardinal point in the foreign policy was the prevention of the recognition of the Confederate States, so was this the chief object in Latin America. It was the theory of the Lincoln government that by demanding much, more would be gained than by requesting little. Therefore, the State Department sought, and at times even demanded, that foreign powers should consider the Southerners as "rebels" and their ships as "pirates." While this object was not obtained, it was possible to prevent the recognition even of the belligerency of the Confederacy in all but one of the South American States.

One of the most outstanding accomplishments of Seward's wartime diplomacy was in gaining the good will of the people of the southern continent. At the inauguration of Lincoln's first administration the South American attitude had long been inspired by fear and hatred of the United States which had taken but little pains to counteract its reputation for avaricious expansionism. Under the influence of the propaganda emanating from Washington, and well presented by the representatives of the State Department, this feeling changed into one of definite friendship. It then gradually developed

⁴⁹ Despatches, Burton to Seward, No. 102, March 9, 1864.

into a sentiment of close fraternity as was attested to by the elation with which the news was received that the conflict was ended and the Union preserved.

Thus built up, the influence of the United States throughout South America at the close of the Civil War was at its highest. It is not the purpose here to trace the downward course of that prestige in the following years. It is well, however, to point out that the disillusionment came when Chile and Peru did not receive the same degree of support from the United States in their trouble with Spain in 1866 as did Mexico in its problem with France.

With the termination of the internal struggle and the resurgence of the doctrine of Manifest Destiny,⁵⁰ the United States again turned its thoughts toward expansion. Once more the fear grew in Latin America that the northern republic constituted a serious menace. And so came to an end a brief episode of unparalleled friendship between the government at Washington and the nations south of the Isthmus. While this enthusiasm was called forth by the Civil War, for the time it lasted, it came closer to drawing the nations involved into a united front than they had been at any other time during the period of independence. It was firmly grounded in the common interests and causes of the hemisphere but it was magnified by the hysteria generated by the war and foreign military intervention in the Latin-American countries. It could not last. As soon as the stimuli disappeared, so did the phenomenon. But the elements remained; and it has been for later governments to attempt to establish, with more substantial and lasting incentives, a degree of mutual understanding and friendship somewhere near its equal.

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⁵⁰ For statements of the expansionists both before and after the Civil War see: A. C. Wilgus, "Official Expressions of Manifest Destiny Sentiments concerning Hispanic America, 1848-1871," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (July, 1932), pp. 486-506.

BOOK REVIEWS

Haiti and the United States, 1714-1938. By LUDWELL LEE MONTAGUE.
(Durham, N. C. : Duke University Press, 1940. Pp. xiii, 308. \$3.00.)

Professor Montague deals with the whole story of Haitian-American relations from the colonial period to the present time. A part of the book, but only a small part, thus covers some of the same ground as Professor Tansill's *The United States and Santo Domingo*, which was published after Mr. Montague's study was substantially completed. On the other hand, Mr. Montague deals more fully with the question of Haitian recognition and presents much new material on other phases of relations between the two countries in the period before the Civil War. One interesting chapter describes the various unsuccessful attempts to colonize American freedmen in Haiti between 1824 and 1863, all of which ended in disaster because of bad management and unfavorable climatic and political environment.

After the American Civil War, and after the failure of the effort to annex Santo Domingo to the United States, in which the Haitian Government played an active part, relations between the two countries were for some time relatively important. For twenty years pecuniary claims, questions of neutrality during internal armed conflicts, the recognition of new governments, and the protection of American citizens were the chief subjects of diplomatic correspondence, as they were with the majority of the governments in the Caribbean area. Relations between the two governments assumed a new importance when the United States began to take an interest in a trans-isthmian canal and to resuscitate its almost nonexistent navy. One of the most interesting chapters in the book deals with the unsavory story of the attempt of Secretary Blaine and Admiral Gherardi to bluff the Haitian government into the cession of the Mole St. Nicholas in 1891.

In dealing with the period after 1900 the author covers the story in a readable and adequate manner but does not add very much to our knowledge of a period which has been treated in detail by a number of other authors. He emphasizes the fact that it was not the influence of American financial interests but almost entirely considerations of strategy and a desire to maintain the Monroe Doctrine which inspired the American intervention of 1915. In this he is undoubtedly right, but it may be questioned whether he gives sufficient weight to the

influence which American financial interests in Haiti were able to exert on the State Department in the confused period before the intervention, through creating incidents and furnishing information colored to suit their own purposes.

The book is more than a mere summary of diplomatic correspondence between the two governments. At the beginning there is an interesting and penetrating description of the peculiar factors which govern Haitian political life, based evidently on a careful study of Haitian as well as foreign writers; and throughout there is enough discussion of the local background and the attendant circumstances to illuminate the diplomatic interchanges. A brief account of events in Haiti since the withdrawal of the American occupation brings the story down to date.

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Portuguese Voyages to America in the Fifteenth Century. By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. Harvard Historical Monographs XIV. Pp. xiv, 151. Illus. \$2.00.)

There has been an urgent need in the literature of early explorations for a volume on the Portuguese voyages of the fifteenth century to America. A great deal has appeared on the subject in recent years, but the material is widely scattered and much of it has been written more from a theoretical than a practical point of view. Professor Morison, with his background not only as an historian but also as an experienced navigator, has now given a new account of these voyages and, he believes, cleared away many obscurities which have bewildered the student. In doing so he has carefully differentiated between these voyages and those of the Spaniards which he knows so well.

The volume is divided into two main sections, one devoted to the Portuguese voyages in the Atlantic and to North America, and the other to the voyage of Cabral to Brazil. Between these is a discussion of the controversial problems which are involved in many of these voyages, due to a policy of secrecy which it has been claimed was maintained by the Portuguese kings.

Professor Morison first takes up the question of the discovery of the Azores and accepts the theory that these islands were first reached by the Portuguese. Their voyages thither were thus not for the rediscovery of those shown on the Italian and Catalan maps of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries but were made while in search of legendary islands which did not really exist. This leads the author to

a discussion of the mythical islands of the Atlantic and then to other voyages by those who went to reach them. He begins with that of Diogo de Teive and Pedro de Velasco who, after their discovery of the islands of Corvo and Flores, are said to have continued their way and reached Newfoundland, and thus discovered America in 1452. He asserts that this voyage would have been impossible because at this time of year they would have encountered a contrary wind which would have carried them towards Ireland rather than to America. During the last forty years of the fifteenth century other voyages were made in search of legendary islands by persons to whom rewards, such as donatory captaincies similar to those later awarded in Brazil, were offered. But no discoveries are recorded.

The voyage of João Vaz Corte-Real for discovery is reviewed by the author, with a negative conclusion, as are those of Fernão Dulmo and Afonso Estreito. João Fernandes, Lavrador, whose name appears on early maps, though he probably went on a voyage in search of the *Terra Nova* of the Cabot voyages of 1497-98, he concludes, only reached the bleak shores of Greenland, discovered nearly five hundred years before. Professor Morison believes that while Gaspar Corte-Real made several unsuccessful voyages to the west prior to 1500, his first discovery was in that year. He then reached Newfoundland and should be regarded as its real discoverer. The voyages of the Portuguese in the Atlantic, it is stated, did not have the Indies as their goal but rather were attempts to discover islands to the west.

In his discussion of the "policy of secrecy" the author concludes that no reasons exist for this, but on the contrary there is every reason to believe that discoveries, had they been made, would have been disclosed. The only indication of such a policy, he states, is "lack of evidence of a Portuguese discovery of America."

Before considering the voyages of the Portuguese to Brazil, the question of the prior discoveries of the Spaniards is dismissed with the statement that Cabral had no knowledge of them and made an independent discovery. The author lays great stress on the memorandum of Vasco da Gama for the guidance of Cabral's fleet during its voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, and takes this opportunity to compare da Gama's recommendations with those for later voyages including those of the United States Hydrographic Office and the British Admiralty for sailing ships for this passage today. In his examination of the course followed by Cabral's fleet he finds that it was almost precisely that which should have been taken to reach India in the shortest time. "This," he believes, "not the Brazilian landfall, is the most significant thing about his voyage." The different claims for the

prior discovery of Brazil are then taken up, particularly that for a voyage of Duarte Pacheco Pereira which is maintained by many Portuguese historians; but after careful examination, all are dismissed with the conclusion that Cabral was the first Portuguese to discover Brazil as Gaspar Corte-Real was the first Portuguese to visit North America.

It is significant that the two authors who have recently investigated the claims of Portuguese voyages to Brazil prior to that of Cabral should be in complete accord, and that these same investigators, one viewing the voyage as a whole with its historical setting, and the other from the point of view of a navigator, should independently have reached the same conclusions as to the reasons for the course followed by Cabral's fleet.

It should be remembered that the memorandum of Vasco da Gama was not final, and that the official instructions for the navigation to the Cape given to Cabral may well have indicated a route which was more exactly that which he followed. An almost uncanny knowledge of the winds of the South Atlantic was thus shown long before the reasons for their existence were known. The author seems to overestimate the qualifications of Cabral as a seaman. He was a young nobleman in the early thirties of unquestioned ability, but there is no evidence that he had ever been previously at sea or that he took an active part in directing the navigation on this voyage. It is more probable that he would have deferred in these matters to the judgment of such associates as Nicoláu Coelho, Diogo Dias, Pedro Escolar and Ayres de Sá, all of whom had gone with da Gama in official capacities, and as far as the South Atlantic to the judgment of Master John, the astronomer, and of the veteran navigator, Bartholomeu Dias, who also went in his fleet. In this he would have followed the policy which he pursued in accepting the guidance of his chief factor, Ayres Correia in India, in matters relating to commercial treaties and trade.

In reading this volume one has the feeling that the conclusions of the author are final. Though some may still maintain other theories, Professor Morison has presented his claims so clearly that all must admit that he has gone a long way towards placing these voyages in their proper perspective. Among the illustrations is an excellent chart showing the winds and currents of the South Atlantic. This work will remain indispensable for all students of the discovery period.

WILLIAM B. GREENLEE.

The Newberry Library,
Chicago.

The Caribbean. The Story of Our Sea of Destiny. By W. ADOLPHE ROBERTS. (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1940. Pp. ix, 361. \$3.50.)

The author of this book has set himself a very difficult task, namely, that of presenting the chief historical points concerning the Caribbean and the islands and mainland adjacent thereto from 1492 down to our own time. One need have no hesitation in saying that he has performed the task extremely well. Indeed, he has covered his vast field better than any other writer in English has ever done before him.

The book is divided into four Parts, arranged chronologically. Part One, entitled "Wonder and Triumph," contains Chapters I to X, inclusive, pages 21 to 96. Here we find, in addition to an excellent description of the process of discovery, both in and around the Caribbean and along the Pacific coast of South America, a good, if non-technical, appraisal of the natives of the regions treated and of their several civilizations. In short, the first fifty years are more than adequately covered, albeit one wishes that Mr. Roberts had said a little more about the part played in this period by the French and the English who contested, even thus early, the supremacy of the Spaniards in the Caribbean.

Part Two, Chapters XI to XXII, pages 97 to 180, is called "Splendor and Challenge." It covers the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Here the part of English and of French interlopers, including Sir Francis Drake, Sir Henry Morgan, Baron de Pointis, and many others, is very fully treated. We are given a lively account of the tremendous tussle that went on in the Caribbean in those days between Spain, weakened and decayed under her later Hapsburg monarchs, and the English, Scots, French, and Dutch who were endeavoring, with some success, to wrest from her the supremacy which she claimed in the Caribbean world. In this part of the book a specially valuable and enthralling portion is made up of Chapters Seventeen and Eighteen, dealing respectively with the English seizure of Jamaica in the time of Oliver Cromwell and with that picturesque man, Sir Henry Morgan. Equally interesting is Chapter Twenty-One, in which the tragedy-comedy of the Scots colony in Darien, between 1695 and 1700, is briefly but vividly related.

Part Three, "Bonanza and Revolution," Chapters XXIII to XXXIV, pages 181 to 262, deals with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the Caribbean world down to the death of Bolívar. It opens with an account of piracy, clearly contrasted here with the earlier and more "respectable" buccaneering and privateering, as

practiced by gory and romantic outlaws such as Captain William Kidd, Edward Teach (*alias* "Blackbeard"), Bartholomew Roberts and others. Kidd's exploits were confined to one voyage and his career was ended by his hanging in London in May, 1701. Nevertheless, he was so spectacular, and his trial for piracy made such a noise, that he became a veritable personification of marine banditry. Teach and Roberts had longer and more bloody careers. Nor were feminine pirates, Anne Bonney and Mary Read, less colorful than their masculine colleagues; indeed, they were fully as violent and given to even worse language when in tight places.

Less exciting, but of greater historical importance, are other chapters of Part Three. The economic and social significance of sugar-planting is duly stressed in Chapter Twenty-Six; and, in the next chapter, the slave trade is well emphasized. The war between England and Spain that began in the spring of 1739, when an M. P. waved in Commons a "leathery object" said to have been an ear sliced from the head of a British skipper named Robert Jenkins, is brilliantly recounted in Chapter Twenty-Eight. The mere fact that Jenkins was not an estimable character did not stop the war; it was bound to happen anyway. The lively sieges of Cartagena and Havana are magnificently described, they being parts of the so fantastically begun "War of Jenkins's Ear" which was ended in 1748 by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. That war laid the foundations of new changes in Caribbean-European colonial affiliations, some of which persist to this day.

The last six chapters of Part Three graphically relate the courses of the divers revolutions in the Caribbean world against England, France, and Spain. Thanks to Simón Bolívar, Spain was shoved out of Caribbean affairs, except in Cuba; and, thanks to Father Miguel Hidalgo and others, Mexico rid herself of Spanish rule in this period. As a result of these processes, various free republics were established in and around the Caribbean at the expense of Spain, leaving France, England, Holland, and Denmark in possession of small colonies in the area. It is a tangled skein that History weaves here; but with great skill, Mr. Roberts reduces it to good order.

Finally comes Part Four, "Imperialism and Liberty," Chapters XXXV to XLVI, pages 263 to 342. From the point of view of practical and pressing problems for ourselves of today, Part Four, treating of history from the death of Bolívar to 1940, is the most important of the book. As are all the rest, it is admirably handled. Reading it, one gets a very clear idea of what the Caribbean question really means for

our country and for Great Britain at the present perilous period of history.

In general one may fairly state that Mr. Roberts's literary style is marked by crystalline clarity and by a noble lack of passion and prejudice. Scattered through the book are many portraits of leading figures in history and the text is further embellished and clarified by many neat and sightly line-maps which one finds wholly satisfactory. At the end of the work there is an excellent short book-list which does not, however, fully reveal the extent of Mr. Roberts's obviously enormous knowledge of the source materials. The index of the book is full and impressive, fully worthy of this altogether praiseworthy volume to which it is the key.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

Pomfret, Connecticut.

Narratives of the Coronado Expedition. Edited by GEORGE P. HAMMOND and AGAPITO REY. (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1940. Pp. xii, 413. \$3.50.)

Quadricentennial celebrations of historic events in the first century of the colonial era have brought a rich harvest of documents, interpretive studies, and monographs in recent years. It is fitting that the United States, with its area of former Spanish borderlands, should contribute its share of scholarly tributes to a notable output in Latin America by honoring the Spanish pioneers within its present-day boundaries. The series of volumes projected by the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission of New Mexico, of which this is the first book off the press, promises, in its eleven volumes, to be a monumental collection of new materials for the history of New Spain and the Southwest under Spain, if the first volume is any criterion of the quality of the forthcoming series. Its value is somewhat lessened by the fact that it is to be entirely a work of translation and that the original texts will not be reproduced. This enhances its usefulness for American scholars who cannot use Spanish, but quite definitely limits use or citation below the Río Grande, where the originals would be preferred, and, for that matter, the small group of Latin Americanists in the United States would share this preference. However, translations represent a tremendous amount of labor in solving textual problems; and, if we can't have both, for manifest reasons of bulk and expense; if competently done, serve a useful purpose and reach a much wider North American audience. The editors are aware of this problem but had no choice in a public enterprise save that of printing English texts.

The *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition* fills a long-felt need. The earlier standard collection of Coronado material, of George Parker Winship, was published in 1896, and has long been out of print. Abbreviated reprintings, without the notes and scholarly introduction, did not satisfy the exacting demands of research, and a limited edition reprint with new notes by F. W. Hodge, in 1933, was not widely available. Moreover, much new material on the expedition and career of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado had been unearthed in the archives in Spain, and, while it had received due attention in the learned journals, nothing less than a complete new work, including revision of the older printed texts, based on comparison with the originals wherever available, would meet with approval. The editors of the work under review have performed their laborious task in conformance with the most exacting critical standards. They have diligently compared and corrected older texts from the extant originals or from photocopies whenever possible, and have not spared themselves by accepting older translations. A total of thirty original documents, some of which have never been printed before, even in the Spanish texts, are presented here for the reader. The most extended search has, as yet, failed to discover the official diary of the expedition or Coronado's own report on his *entrada*, which were ordinarily required and should be on file in the labyrinth of the Archives of the Indies. Lacking them, the account of Pedro de Nájera, written some years after the events it describes, remains the most important single chronicle of the expedition, and its narrative occupies ninety-three pages of the book. Of the older material, some of the Coronado letters, a letter of Viceroy Mendoza, and the briefer statements of other participants in the march, such as the valuable narrative of Captain Juan Jaramillo, round out the story of the enterprise. The introduction and the notes add much new information painstakingly gathered from archives, especially from the Coronado *residencia*, as well as from the printed accounts.

The principal new documents concern the earlier and later career of Coronado. These consist of such important items as Coronado's appointment as governor of New Galicia, and as commander of his expedition, the muster roll of the men and equipment that went with him, supplemented by the names others found in the trial documents and other records, and key documents from the *residencia* of Coronado. Of greatest interest are the charges brought against him, his sentence and absolution by the viceroy and audiencia on one set of accusations. The trial and conviction of the chief officer García López de Cárdenas sheds further light on the aftermath of the exploring effort. Reports

of the preliminary and the side expeditions such as the Fray Marcos de Niza reconnaissance, and the Hernando de Alarcón voyage up the Colorado River, add greatly to the completeness of the assembled documents.

A competent introduction, which makes wide use of the printed materials and brings to bear the fruits of search through a considerable mass of supporting archival material, places the reader in command of the salient facts concerning Coronado and provides a sketchy account of his march. The notes throughout add pertinent facts and citations from printed and archival sources. Perhaps the most valuable work of the editors was in the field of textual correction. One example of this is the reading of "jornadas" substituted for "leguas" as contained in the Pacheco and Cárdenas text of the Report of Fray Marcos (p. 74). The new reading is of utmost importance in the determination of the route of the franciscan's journey and, ultimately, in any estimation of the trustworthiness of his account. It is to be regretted that it was not possible to correct all of the Pacheco and Cárdenas texts against the originals.

The scholar and the teacher will welcome this volume with enthusiasm, and the intrinsic interest of the materials should even excite the general reader. The volume is handsomely printed, has an artistic format, and is remarkably free from *errata*. An index and a glossary of Spanish terms are provided. The volume should induce many to subscribe to the entire series, and no library should miss the opportunity to stock its shelves with these fundamental narratives of early American history.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

The University of Michigan.

Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, Relaciones Históricas. Selección, prólogo y notas de Manuel Romero de Terreros. Ediciones de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma, Mexico City, 1940. Pp. 176. Unbound \$2.50 (Mex. Cy.); Cloth Binding \$4.00 (Mex. Cy.).

The National and Autonomous University of Mexico is contributing effectively to a wider diffusion of the works of important figures in Mexican literature and learning through the preparation and publication of a growing collection of inexpensive, neatly printed and well-edited texts known as the *Biblioteca del Estudiante Universitario*. In these little volumes, of which seventeen have appeared to date, selections from the writings of standard Mexican authors, chiefly of the colonial period thus far, are now placed within easy reach of every student of Mexican letters. The present title, number 13 of the series,

permits acquaintance with an outstanding literary and historical figure of the seventeenth century whose name is probably more widely known than are his writings. Sigüenza y Góngora (1645-1700) is little read today, partly because his printed works are rare and partly because those available scarcely seem to justify, because of the literary vices that they exemplify, the great reputation that this scholar enjoyed among his contemporaries and later generations. It was unfortunate that Sigüenza's truly important writings, with few exceptions, did not find their way into print owing to his inability to defray the cost of publication; it was always easier to find some Maecenas to subsidize the printing of some ephemeral tract or description commemorating an occasion or glorifying an institution. And Sigüenza was frequently commissioned to compose such works whose form and style were marred by the ponderous Latinisms, oversubtle conceits and involved syntax which were the literary fashion of his time. It need hardly be added that such writing makes unpalatable reading today.

Some of the more pleasing of Sigüenza's literary activities and those of special interest to the historian are his often vivid reporting of contemporary events in which he tended to detach himself from current stylistic affectations and pedantry. Sr. Romero de Terreros has made a judicious selection of three of these more readable *relaciones* which he offers the reader in handy form. They are: *Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez*, *Relación de lo sucedido a la Armada de Barlovento*, and *Alboroto y motín de México del 8 de Junio de 1692*.

The first-mentioned *relación* is a curious account of the misadventures which befell a Puerto Rican during an enforced girdling of the globe. In befriending this unfortunate, Sigüenza entered into the narrative of this long journey with such zeal that, in some passages, his customary stylistic inhibitions melted away and he wrote in a manner reminiscent of the picaresque novels for which the literature of Spain is famous. The *Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez* has, in fact, been regarded by some critics as one of the rudimentary beginnings of the Mexican novel. The present printing may be regarded as a third edition of this work; the only other generally available is that contained in Volume XX of the *Colección de libros raros y curiosos que tratan de América* (Madrid, 1902).

The *Relación de lo sucedido a la Armada de Barlovento* is a brief account of a successful maritime expedition sent against the French on the island of Santo Domingo the latter part of 1690, and was written at the behest of the viceroy, the Conde de Galve, whom Sigüenza served as a sort of court chronicler. The original text was first re-

printed in the limited edition of Francisco Pérez Salazar, *Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, Obras, con una biografía*, Mexico City (Sociedad de Bibliófilos Mexicanos) 1928, pages 247-268.

The third selection is a reprinting of the long letter of Sigüenza to Admiral Andrés de Pez, then in Spain, reporting in remarkably vivid detail the incidents culminating in the serious Corn Riot of 1692 when the Indian population of the capital, aided and abetted by Spanish renegades, destroyed the viceregal palace with most of its records, and seriously threatened Spanish sovereignty in New Spain. Sigüenza was an eyewitness of much of what he graphically describes. Sr. Romero de Terreros has modernized the spelling and punctuation of this interesting document first published in 1932 by the National Museum of Mexico.

These selections are preceded by a brief but adequate biographical sketch of Sigüenza y Góngora, while a few notes and a glossary of nautical terms employed in the first two *relaciones* are appended.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

Brown University.

California. By JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940. Pp. viii, 680. \$5.00.)

California, a history of California, includes an adequate presentation of historical background, and the story of California from its beginnings to the present time. This solid volume contains 606 pages of text, "A Commentary on Californiana" of 42 pages, 7 maps and 51 illustrations. Most of the illustrations are full-page drawings and etchings of persons, historic scenes, and symbols of development. These have been selected with care and are highly artistic. The author has not neglected the economic, social, and cultural phases of California history. He has succeeded in writing a book that is sound history and good literature—weighty enough for the student in the field, light enough for the general reader, and certain to increase interest in the state's history and appreciation of it.

In attempting to appraise a work like *California* by John Walton Caughey, it is important to take cognizance of what others have done in the field. There are the large general works: Hubert Howe Bancroft's seven volumes labeled *History of California* (1884-1890), Theodore H. Hittel's four-volume *History of California* (1885-1897), and Zoeth S. Eldredge's five-volume *History of California* (1915). More significant for our purpose are the scholarly books for college classes and the general reader: Charles E. Chapman, *A History of*

California: The Spanish Period (1921); Robert G. Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (1922); and Rockwell D. Hunt and Nellie Van de Grift Sánchez, *A Short History of California* (1929).

These several works are referred to here because the author of *California* could not have written this superb book without the work of those who preceded him. They labored and he has entered into their labors, and into the labors of many others. We say "many others," because numerous scholarly monographs have been written since the works referred to were published, and many additional articles and studies have become available. Also, Professor Caughey had the advantage of sitting at the feet of men highly trained in the field, an opportunity the trail-makers before him did not enjoy. This is not to detract from the superior literary quality, comprehensiveness, balance, thoroughness, and richness of his work, but to recognize the debt owed by him to others which, in humility, he generously recognizes.

The author's use of and familiarity with the multiplicity of materials useful in a study of California history has made possible the last section of the book, "A Commentary on Californiana," the aim of which is to convey to the general reader a sense of the proportions, quality, and nature of the materials. This section contains a listing of general works, followed by presentation of book references, articles in historical magazines, monographs, and studies on each of the topics treated in *California*. For each of the items there is penetrating comment that gives characterization to each of the items listed. The reviewer does not know of another similar task as thoroughly done.

The book deserves little, if any, adverse criticism. The unusually few minor errors are not worth noting. The writing and proofreading have been done with scrupulous care. A few questions about emphasis and proportion could be raised, but these would be based on personal opinion. In the author's zeal to bring the book up to the minute, it is possible that the last three chapters, "The Great Prosperity," "Recent Political and Social Progress," and "The Contemporary Scene," are made to carry some matter that orthodox historians will think had better be left to current magazines, an observation the reviewer does not intend as a criticism.

The publishers are to be commended for their excellent work of printing and binding, and for the successful reproduction of the many illustrations which are artistic and interpretative. One criticism should be added: the book weighs too much. Three and one-quarter pounds is too much weight for a book that will be used chiefly by

college students, who may be carrying around four or five more of equal size.

WILLIAM H. ELLISON.

Santa Barbara State College.

La instrucción primaria durante la dominación española en el territorio que forma actualmente la república Argentina. By ADOLFO GARRETÓN. (Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos del Consejo N. de Educación, 1939. Pp. 299.)

In 1934 the Argentine National Council of Education announced a competition for monographs on the history of public and private elementary education in the federal capital, the territories, and the provinces of the country. Since this contest was designed to commemorate the adoption of a modern system of education under the terms of the Law of 1884, competitors were instructed to select their themes from the colonial period, the period 1818-1884, or the period since the passage of the law. The present work, winner of second prize in the competition, describes the institutions and measures by which the people of the colonies acquired a level of education permitting them to attempt independent existence in 1810, and also allowing them to develop some of the elements of the school system which they finally established in 1884.

The author approaches his task with an initial advantage over many of his fellow educational historians, both in Hispanic America and elsewhere. Instead of holding to the nineteenth-century concept of education as being rather exclusively a matter of schooling, he recognizes at the outset of his study that activities of all kinds, political, religious, vocational, and domestic, under certain conditions are profoundly educational in their effects upon the ways of a people. Although he deals with elementary schooling, he knows that a history of school instruction which does not take full account of the whole pattern of institutions and agencies which control and shape the minds of men is no history at all but only a pedagogical chronicle.

The story of colonial education in the Argentine area covers four main phases of development. The first of these is concerned with the few attempts to establish elementary education in the earliest stages of colonization, particularly the primary schools which were established in connection with the universities at the very beginning of their existence. This phase is treated by the author briefly but adequately.

In discussing the second phase of the development of elementary education, that organized by the colonial cities, the author uses Buenos

Aires as a base for a detailed narrative and then passes to a review of similar developments in the cities and districts of Santa Fe, Corrientes, Tucumán, and Cuyo.

It is in the treatment of the period of the *gobernaciones*, however, that the author is able to give a more complete history of elementary education. In this phase of the story he has a variety of movements and institutions which he puts into the general picture with skill and decision.

The discussion of the period of the viceroyalty is confined almost exclusively to Buenos Aires and furnishes an excellent account of the beginnings of what is one of the most remarkable municipal school systems in the world.

Some of the author's patriotic theses, as, for example, that which indicates a considerable causal connection between elementary education in Buenos Aires and the claim that the revolution of May 25 in that city was the only one in all Ibero-America which from the day of its proclamation never succumbed to a reactionary counterattack (p. 287), do not always derive convincingly from the data presented. The story itself, however, is calmly and clearly given. It is a most useful addition to the history of education in the Americas.

HAROLD BENJAMIN.

University of Maryland.

New World Challenge to Imperialism. By MERLE ELLIOTT TRACY.
(New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1940. Pp. xi, 395. \$3.75.)

If one does not care about facts and is willing to believe that Mr. Tracy is a prophet compared to whom Christ, Moses, Buddha, Mahomet, or anybody else was just a minor-leaguer, then this is a great and inspiring work. It is at any rate interesting, in the breezy style of the newspaperman. Furthermore, its theme is one that the English-reading public could wish were true, and gives the volume a certain appeal, whatever one's estimate of its value.

The author has been an editorial writer for more than a quarter of a century, and was recently editor and publisher of *Current History* magazine, also author of *Our Country, Our People, and Theirs* (1938). He clearly has read widely and has a vast fund of information, but does not appear to have probed very deeply in the subjects that are the basis for the present volume. His bibliography represents a fine list of works for the casual reader, but is an utterly inadequate foundation for the thesis Mr. Tracy attempts to sustain.

Tracy believes he has discovered the panacea for banishing war and its attendant miseries. It is democracy. "Democracy and war,

particularly aggressive war, are irreconcilable" (p. 33). He finds the world divided into two camps, made up of the New World democracy and Old World imperialism. A little of democracy, to be sure, has touched up certain portions of the Old World (England, France, and some lesser countries), but only as a mild backwash from New World influences. Through forty chapters, grouped into eight parts, he works out his theory historically, with emphasis on Western Hemisphere history in relation to the original European imperialism in these two continents and New World success in establishing democracy. The climax in world history would appear to have arrived with the Pan-American Conference at Lima in 1938, which was something "without parallel or precedent." This Conference came out for peace instead of war, abandoning the methods of imperialism. As Calvin Coolidge once said of a minister's sermon about sin, "he was against it!"

Most persons in the English-speaking world would like to believe that Mr. Tracy's thesis is true. Indeed, it *may be*. But—and what a word that "but" can be—there are many leaks in Mr. Tracy's premises. To speak of Hispanic America as a democratic world is to do so either with supine ignorance or else bland disregard of facts. Probably the latter is true in the case of Mr. Tracy. In his national histories of Hispanic American countries, he amiably skips all unpleasant features. Writing of Argentina, for example, he says: "It is possible, of course, to find defects. . . . Anyone can do a good job at what we call 'provocative writing' by merely selecting and emphasizing certain raw spots." Mr. Tracy avoids that practice by omitting the raw spots altogether. Speaking of Cuba, he says: "Cuba provides the best example of New World democracy in action." If that is true, then the title of the song which Kate Smith has made famous ought to be changed to "God *help* America!"

It must be obvious, from the above, that Tracy gives a false picture of New World "democracy." Anyone who is writing the truth—and what else should a *scholar* do?—knows that Hispanic America has long been one of the world's leading examples of the totalitarian areas. Only the nomenclature differs from that of the European dictatorships. On paper Hispanic America is democratic, but only mildly so in fact, and that merely in a few countries. Such terms as nazism, fascism, and communism (Stalin variety) are now current to denote totalitarianism, or absolutism. In Hispanic America the same thing is most often called caudillism. This institution runs through all Hispanic-American history in the independence era, and has rarely been stronger than right now. Hispanic America is opposed to Hitler, but

not because of his opposition to democracy. She fears the loss of her *independence*.

In conclusion, it is doubtful if Mr. Tracy has written a world-shaking book, but it is to be hoped that the Western Hemisphere evolves to become what he says it is already, with also the power to remain that way.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

Historia Documentada de los Movimientos Revolucionarios por la Independencia de Cuba de 1852 á 1867. By DIEGO GONZÁLEZ. (Havana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX," 1939. Academia de la Historia de Cuba. Vols. XVIII and XIX. Pp. 178. Pp. 297.)

While the Spanish continental colonies were torn with revolution, Cubans in general remained loyal to the mother country. There were, however, a number of conspiracies which initiated a growing friction between the Creoles and their governors. In spite of this, the spirit of coöperation existing between the leaders in the island and the Spanish officials was predominant until about 1834 when the efficient but arbitrary and vindictive Miguel Tacón became captain general of Cuba. By his actions he drove influential Cubans into the opposition. Such men as Leopoldo O'Donnell and José Gutiérrez de la Concha aggravated the situation, as did also many acts of the authorities in the Peninsula. Thoughtful Cubans began to seek a remedy for their country's ills. Until the failure of the López expeditions in 1851, annexation to the United States seemed the solution to some. Then followed the transition period, covered by the work under review, which was punctuated by sporadic attempts at separation from Spain and a movement for colonial reform.

There have been numerous studies of the various movements during the years 1852 to 1867, and biographies of their leaders, but a study devoted to the period as a whole has been long overdue. The present work was written to compete for a prize offered in 1931 by the Cuban Academy of History. In presenting it to the public Dr. González and the Academy have rendered a service to students of Cuban history, a service which would have been greater, however, had the author written from a less biased viewpoint. In the preamble he places himself in the patriotic school of historians and the tone of the whole work is in the same strain. Too frequent use of such expressions as "the glory of the hero" and "the glorious enterprize" detracts from the scientific value of the work.

The first of the two volumes, which contains fourteen chapters, four of which are introductory, is the author's own composition, while

the second consists of a number of documents—a few private papers, two or three newspaper articles, some excerpts from books, three documents from the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, and the rest from the Archivo Nacional de Cuba—on the subject matter of the last ten chapters of Volume I. This splendid collection speaks for itself.

The first chapter of Volume I summarizes the history of the island down to 1823; the second deals with the revolutionary activities between that date and 1850; and the third, with the annexation movement. A separate chapter is dedicated to the López expeditions, largely for the purpose of proving that the leader was not an annexationist. The principal chapters of the body of the work cover the conspiracy of Vuelto Abajo (1852); the case of the printer Eduardo Facciolo (1853); the conspiracy of Ramón Pintó (1854-1855); and the Reformist movement of 1859 to 1867. Five others deal with miscellaneous phases of the period. The presentation of the events connected with the movements is excellent but the analysis of motives has been slighted. As an alternative the author resorts to sweeping denunciations of the Spanish administration. The loyalty of the Cubans in the early years of the nineteenth century is scarcely mentioned and, consequently, the steps by which a sufficient number were turned against Spain to carry on the destructive Ten-Years' War (1868-1878) are not made clear. More about that would have emphasized the significance of the years 1852 to 1867.

The detailed table of contents in Volume I is a partial substitute for an index which does not appear. An excellent system of footnote references is found in the first volume but is not continued in the second.

DUVON C. CORBITT.

Candler College, Cuba.

Martí, El Hombre. By GONZALO DE QUESADA Y MIRANDA. (La Habana: Talleres de Seoane Fernández y Cía., 1940. Pp. 316. \$2.00.)

To the writers of modern Cuba, José Julián Martí stands as the greatest symbol of what is best and noble and true in the Cuban character. His life as an apostle of Cuban independence and his inspiring martyrdom, coupled with the prophetic value of most of his writings, have earned for him the everlasting veneration of all Cubans. His memory is not only deeply cherished; it has become the object of an exalted cult which sometimes hinders any unbiased approach to the study of the life and deeds of the great Antillean.

In spite of his profound admiration for the most outstanding of his

countrymen, Gonzalo de Quesada y Miranda has succeeded to a large degree in giving us a remarkable biography of Martí, based on a large quantity of unpublished material, which must be hailed as perhaps the best book in the whole Martiana so far. The chronological table which he has added as an appendix is very useful and fills a long-standing need.

Martí, el Hombre seeks to offer an intimate picture of the man himself as shown chiefly by his own letters and writings or by those of his closest friends and relatives. The author has followed the modern trend in biographical studies, especially concerned with the analysis of all the detailed psychological reactions, the hopes and struggles and fears which form the basic pattern of any great life. As the tale unfolds itself, we see the evolution of those outstanding traits which are closely associated with José Martí: a generous spirit of self-sacrifice, a deep devotion to the fatherland which has its roots in the intense romantic nature of the great liberator, and an unflinching integrity and tenacity of purpose. In many ways, Martí was the product of his own times. His whole ideology is permeated with that political romanticism which was the dynamic force behind the great movements of liberal reform in the 19th century. Martí's ideal of a social democracy based on the brotherhood of man reminds us of the doctrines preached by Giuseppe Mazzini whom he seems to have surpassed, however, as a skilful organizer of a planned revolution and in the ability to rally the most divergent groups and individuals to his side.

Quesada has bent every effort to give us a real insight into the basic personal problems which Martí had to face during his lifetime. The family background receives special care; the early controversy between young Martí and his father shows the beginnings of a life saddened by domestic difficulties and by the inability of those who loved him deeply to understand his patriotic aims and his willingness to suffer every persecution rather than submit to the Mother Country. We also owe to Quesada an illuminating account of Martí's love life; his sad romance in Guatemala and his marriage to an excellent woman who was, nevertheless, totally unfitted to help the Antillean patriot in his herculean task of overthrowing the Spanish domination and liberating Cuba.

The author has, quite naturally, discussed at great length the political activities of José Julián Martí and the development of his final and fatal campaign against the Spanish power. He has not minimized the many difficulties which Martí had to face, nor the misunderstandings and intrigues prevalent among the different revolu-

tionary factions. Martí's relations with Máximo Gómez and Antonio Maceo are carefully analyzed, as well as his tireless efforts to bring together the old warriors for the sake of the common cause. Quesada has emphasized several of Martí's prophecies concerning the future of an independent Cuba, especially his opinion in respect to such vital contemporary questions as the racial problem, the dangers of a one-crop economy and the disturbing influence of the military power in the political life of the country.

Aside from the purely political aspect of Martí's life, Quesada has also stressed his other talents and varied abilities. There is Martí the poet, endowed with a fine gift of unusual depth and clarity of expression; Martí the newspaperman, ready to discuss the outstanding literary event in the United States or to reveal to the rest of the Americas the manner of life in New York shortly before the gay nineties; and finally Martí the essayist, to be ranked with the greatest literary figures Spanish America has yet produced—a firm believer in the future greatness of "our America" and a staunch prophet and defender of a Spanish-American culture free from foreign tutelage and true to herself.

ARTURO MORALES.

Washington, D. C.

Manuel Márquez Sterling, Escritor y Ciudadano. By RENÉ LUFRÍU. (Habana: "El Siglo XX," A Muñiz y Hermano, 1938. Pp. x, 242.)

This volume is the product of a "intimate friend" of Manuel Márquez Sterling, the late eminent Cuban diplomat and *littérateur*. It is hence perhaps not the last word in scholarly objectivity but it does form a useful and needed contribution to Cuban biographical literature. The author is the secretary of the Academy of History of Cuba and previously has produced a wide variety of other works.

Márquez Sterling's life may be conveniently divided into two periods: the years up to 1907 when, from youth on, his activity was chiefly that of "writer and citizen," and the period subsequent to 1907 during which he was primarily engaged in diplomatic activity. The present volume deals with the first period; it would seem to suggest a second volume (which might be entitled *Manuel Márquez Sterling, Diplomático y Hombre de Estado*), which would need to be very carefully written, however, because of the conflicting currents in Márquez Sterling's later career.

The treatment in the volume under review is chronological except for a final chapter analyzing Márquez Sterling's intellectual activity.

His distinguished ancestry is traced; his birth in Lima in 1872 and the outstanding developments of a not too physically strong childhood are recounted. The powerful eloquence of Rafael Montoro in 1886 deeply affected Márquez Sterling and by that year, at the age of fourteen, Lufriú tells us, the germs of literary aptitude were evident. The youth had no liking at that time for politics—"la política y los políticos me causaban disgusto inmenso," he is quoted as saying—but was early attracted to writing.

The first book from a ready pen came at the age of twenty but even before that a prolific journalistic career had been begun. This is traced factually but sympathetically in some detail. Poor health prevented Márquez Sterling from fighting during the War for Independence but his pen contributed in some measure to the Cuban cause. The subject's literary output by this period was great—dealing with such matters as chess (a lifelong hobby), literary criticism, and politics—but when Lufriú arrives at the period of the War he subordinates Márquez Sterling's own career too much to a general account of political developments. The tone of the latter is generally fair; Lufriú gives too much credit to General Brooke in contrast to Leonard Wood, perhaps, but that is only incidental. The author writes in a good deal of detail about the fight against the Platt Amendment and, withal, with commendable impartiality.

Márquez Sterling subsequently traveled much and took advantage of his travels to carry on his reporter's trade; he interviewed both Theodore Roosevelt and Porfirio Díaz, for example. There was much in the Mexico of that day which Márquez Sterling disliked—"los dos hechos coetáneos," he wrote, "más nocivos a la América . . . eran el porfiriato y la Enmienda Platt." By 1905, Lufriú concludes, Márquez Sterling's contribution to Cuban letters had become "a magnificent reality." His writing career was not ended but soon thereafter he turned chiefly to diplomacy and with that change of activity the book is brought to an end.

Several documentary appendices and some twelve to fifteen pictures add to the usefulness and interest of the book.

RUSSELL H. FITZGIBBON.

University of California at Los Angeles.

The Foreign Trade of Latin America with Special Reference to Trade with the United States. In three parts. Part I, Trade of Latin America with the World and with the United States. (Washington: United States Tariff Commission, 1940. Pp. x, 158. [n.p.])

The above, Part 1 of a report on the Foreign Trade of the twenty Latin-American countries with the world and with the United States,

deals with the trade of Latin America as a whole for the decade 1929-38. It contains a 20-page description of the Latin-American area which, with the accompanying outline map, will be of considerable value to the casual reader. Then follows a consideration of the commercial policies of the Latin-American countries (6 pp.), an examination of the total trade of Latin America with the world (14 pp.) and with the United States (60 pp.), and finally an analysis (37 pp.) of special problems in the foreign trade of Latin America, including those arising out of the present European war.

By its very nature the report is largely statistical and to a considerable extent is merely an interpretation of the 41 tables. These latter are excellently prepared and cover a wide range of subjects; *i.e.*, Table I gives a handy summary of the area, population and density of population of Latin America by countries and geographical divisions, Table IX (in the appendix) shows the United States imports for consumption of free and dutiable merchandise from the 20 Latin-American countries in certain specified years.

If one may judge from Part 1 of *The Foreign Trade of Latin America* the completion of the report will enable the student of United States-Latin-American Trade to answer practically every question which might come to mind. Part 2 will consist of 20 sections and will be a survey of the commercial policy and of the foreign trade of each of the 20 Latin-American republics, with especial emphasis on the trade, composition and destination of both exports and imports. Part 3 will deal individually with approximately 30 selected Latin-American export commodities for each of which there will be a discussion of production, exports, trade barriers, competitive conditions and the effects of the European war.

The value of this undertaking (in the opinion of the reviewer) can hardly be overestimated. Here will be gathered together in handy form statistics secured from an enormous number of documents issued by many different departments of the United States and of the Latin-American Governments, most of which are not readily accessible. Just how great a hearing the reports will receive from the general public cannot be judged. It is to be hoped, however, that Chambers of Commerce throughout the United States will study them carefully if for nothing else than to learn that "Latin America's ability to purchase the commodities of other nations is dependent upon its ability to export its products in adequate volume and at adequate prices."

OSGOOD HARDY.

Histoire de la Louisiane Française 1673-1939. By EMILE LAUVRIÈRE. (University, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1940. Pp. 445. \$4.50.)

He who essays to write a history of French Colonial Louisiana must resign himself to years of laborious researches in the various departmental archives of France. Working on this subject for the past ten years, both in his native land and Louisiana, Professor Lauvrière has pursued this task to fruitful completion.

Limiting his work primarily from the period of early exploration to the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, Lauvrière has presented an unusually good and painstaking analysis of the colony under the rule of Bienville, Crozat, The Company of the West, John Law, and the Company of the Indies. Especially interesting is the detailed description of the type and manner of recruiting colonists for settlement in Louisiana. Equally important is his concise analysis of the various Governors of Louisiana and their administrations, during the period treated. Through documentary sources, he pictures Bienville and his administration of the colony in much more unfavorable light than has hitherto been shown in the standard histories of Louisiana. The French military engineer, Adrien de Pauger, rather than Bienville, is credited with the real foundation of New Orleans. Governor Kerlerrec, on the other hand, is revealed in a much more sympathetic light than has usually been the case in the treatment of this critical period of the colony.

A concluding chapter treats of the number and characteristics of the French-speaking people of contemporary Louisiana, their accomplishments, and cultural survival.

In the reviewer's opinion this work represents the best documentary history of French Colonial Louisiana yet published, and, as such, is a distinct contribution.

VERNON J. PARENTON.

Louisiana State University.

Mercedes de Tierras y Solares (1583-1589). Documentos para la Historia de Salta en el Siglo XVI. By ATILIO CORNEJO and MIGUEL A. VERGARA. (Salta: Imp. San Martín, 1938. Pp. xv, 257.)

The grants of land and city lots, here recorded, mark the beginnings of the civil history of Salta, one of the outlying districts of the Argentine. Since the city of Salta, formerly called San Felipe de Lerma, was one of the early settlements in the Argentine, these documents are of peculiar interest. They are, moreover, rather typical of the records left by the Spaniards wherever they established colonies.

They serve for this particular region much as do the Libro Becerro of Santiago de Chile, the Actas del Cabildo of Lima, and many unpublished papers in the archives of other Spanish American cities. They reveal the processes by which the European invaders secured possession of the land in the New World, and, incidentally, throw much light on many other phases of the social organization which characterized early Spanish colonies.

The Spaniards in Salta followed the usual system of seeking and receiving, from the governor of the province, lots upon which to build their town houses, lands for cattle ranges, lands for farms, etc. In some cases these grants were made with Indians attached, in the form of *encomiendas*. The forced service of the Indians seems implied where it is not explicitly mentioned. Surveys are described, titles recorded, bounds established, water rights are granted, much as in other colonies. Thus the reader gets a picture of the early days of colonial America and of the Spanish-American social institutions taking root in the New World. The deciphering of such documents aids greatly in correcting errors long undetected in the existing histories of the Spanish-American colonies.

GEORGE M. MCBRIDE.

University of California,
Los Angeles.

Pueblo Indian Land Grants of the "Rio Abajo," New Mexico. By HERBERT O. BRAYER. [The University of New Mexico Bulletin: Historical Series, Vol. I, No. 1.] (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1939. Pp. 135.)

"The present study is to serve as an introduction to the investigation of the complex Spanish and Mexican land grant problem in New Mexico and the Southwest." So states the author in his preface. As the title indicates, the study deals with the problem in its relation to the Pueblos south and west of Santa Fe. A second volume dealing with the Pueblo Indian land grants of the "Rio Arriba," or the region north of Santa Fe, is promised in the near future.

The first chapter is an excellent summary of the land policies of Spain, Mexico, and the United States relative to the Pueblo Indians. This is followed by detailed individual treatment of the various Pueblo land grants. Briefly, up to about the year 1800 there was an abundance of land and the population was sparse, and the Pueblos were spared from serious encroachments upon their land. Gradually, however, the combination of a changed policy of wardship successively under Spain, Mexico, and the United States, and growing encroachments aggravated

by the greater influx of white settlers, made for the overlapping of grants and much litigation. Since the start of a new policy in 1913, titles have been cleared, and the author concludes: "This long period of controversy has finally produced a policy not unlike that which was founded by the Spanish crown early in the sixteenth century."

The author has drawn his evidence chiefly from recent court proceedings and published government documents, and the recent period is well handled. This reviewer would have welcomed a fuller treatment of the Spanish and Mexican periods. For the Spanish period the evidence is derived in great part from translated documents in Twitchell's *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, despite the fact that these translations are usually so full of inaccuracies that they demand a recheck with the originals in every case. The early period is still in need of full treatment. An entire volume devoted to the Indian land policy of Spain and Mexico in New Mexico, a difficult task, to be sure, would be a welcome introduction to Mr. Brayer's volume, which constitutes an excellent study of the problem in the American period.

J. MANUEL ESPINOSA.

Loyola University, Chicago.

Elementos de Bibliología. By J. FRÉDÉRIC FINÓ. (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y casa editora "Coni," 1940. Pp. xvi, 368. 1 l.)

The present work is of definite interest as one of many concrete indications of the increasing stress upon library development in Latin America and as constituting one of the very few works, original or in translation, on the subject of library science available in Spanish. In fact, in the opinion of the author—and in this opinion the present reviewer fully concurs—the work under consideration and Selva's *El Manual de Bibliotecnia* (Buenos Aires, 1937) are perhaps the only practical guides for students of library economy written in Spanish.

In this statement the reviewer does not refer to various publications in Argentina and other Latin-American countries on library and archive organization and administration such as the *Organización de Archivos en general* by E. Mujica Farías and M. R. Portela and the *Fundación y Organización de Bibliotecas* by A. Cónsole.

The author thus defines his objective: "Without pretension to originality we have limited ourselves to present in what we hope to be a clear and comprehensible manner, an adaptation, translation or résumé of the works of Cim, Maire, Graesel, and others, guided by the examination requirements for university librarians in France."

Consistent with his professed purpose, he has throughout the work

avoided dogmatic statements, expressing his choice of methods with modesty and restraint and with Gallic clarity.

He has, indeed, prepared an elementary handbook on library science well adapted to serve the needs of students of the subject to which increasing attention is being paid in Latin-American countries.

The author has arranged his material lucidly and practically in four books and six appendixes.

In Book I, dealing with the history of the book and of libraries, there are nine chapters in which are discussed briefly but luminously the book in ancient times and the Middle Ages, the invention of printing and its development, illustration and binding, libraries and classification systems, printing in America and American libraries. The last two chapters are of special interest, giving brief notices of some libraries containing more than 100,000 volumes, Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, Mexico, and Bogotá.

In Book II, the book, there are five chapters on paper, its manufacture, types, etc., printing, constituent parts of the book, forms of publication, etc., technical points concerning illustration and binding.

Book III is devoted to a study of the library, with chapters on location, equipment, the formation of collections, acquisition and treatment of books, library maintenance and service to the public.

In Book IV the author discusses the technical processes of cataloging and classification.

Six appendixes complete the volume: (1) Bibliographical instruments, (2) the classification system of the National Library of Argentina, (3-4) the classification used in French *collèges*, (5-6) the courses in library science of the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras and of the Museo Social Argentino.

In the presentation of his material, Señor Finó has closely followed his models, save in the attention paid to conditions and practices in Argentina.

The exception constitutes an interesting and valuable feature of the book. It is interesting to learn for instance that in Argentina the law requires the addition to every book of a colophon giving the day, month, and year of printing and the name of the printer. And again with respect to copyright law, three copies of the book must be submitted, one for the Copyright Office, one for the National Library and one for the Library of Congress.

The reviewer must admit, however, that some of the principles and practices recommended by the author are, if not heretical, at least unorthodox, judged from the point of view of methods sanctioned by long and successful application in this country. This refers par-

ticularly to his views of classification and shelf arrangement. Referring to larger and growing collections he says that "the methodical (*i.e.*, classified) arrangement is a source of complications leading to confusion. Such a system can be applied successfully only to closed collections. Arrangement in the order of accession is the most rational." A secondary arrangement by size is recommended.

The author assumes, to be sure, that the reader is not permitted access to the shelves, in which case a well-constructed author and subject catalog would afford a certain control of the library's collection.

In discussing systems of classification the author concludes that those of Brunet and Dewey are most commonly used, that of the Library of Congress not being mentioned. This is somewhat surprising inasmuch as he refers to that institution as a true model, the catalogs of which can be profitably studied by librarians.

An exception must also be taken to the statement on page 270 regarding the Dewey classification:

En cuanto al desorden que introduciría en los estantes, por la agrupación de obras de diversos formatos, haremos notar que la clasificación de Dewey es una clasificación de "fichas" y que no tiene nada que ver con la ordenación material de los libros.

It is true that the Dewey system may be applied to the organization of a classed catalog instead of a dictionary catalog by subjects, the index serving to locate materials, and this may be done without a corresponding arrangement of books on the shelves. In practice, however, in the United States, the system is applied to book arrangement, bringing together on the shelves books on the same subject. This method, apart from other advantages, greatly facilitates service. The process of classification requires also the preparation of a classed catalog or shelf list that shows the library's holdings and serves as the instrument for inventories and as a check against books out, lost, or misplaced.

Señor Finó is not dogmatic, however, and his general conclusion with respect to classification is sound, that is, that no single classification will satisfy all libraries and that in adopting this or that system attention must be paid to the special conditions that determine the choice.

Another curious misstatement may be noted in the author's comments on author entries. He says that the Spanish, French and South Americans use first the family name of the father followed by that of the mother; the entry then should be under the first with a reference from the second.

Brazilians, Scandinavians, Dutch, Hungarians, English, and North Americans use first the family name of the mother followed by that of the father, the entry being under the second.

This error with respect to English names is possibly due to the fact that Spanish bibliographers not infrequently assume that the second forename is a family name and enter under it. The rule given is based on a wrong assumption, but would insure a correct entry.

The appendixes add distinctly to the value of this well-arranged manual. The bibliography while brief is well selected, the classification used in the National Library and the courses of instruction in library science of the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras and the Museo Social are of special interest to students of Argentine libraries.

C. K. JONES.

Library of Congress.

Index to Latin-American Books, 1938, Vol. I. Edited by RAUL D'ÉCA. (Washington, D. C.: The Inter-American Book Exchange, 1940. Pp. 484, in mimeograph.)

With the increasing interest in the current conditions and intellectual development of the twenty Latin-American countries, as well as Puerto Rico, the editor of this volume believes that a need exists for a reference book containing a list of the books and pamphlets published in these countries. He has undertaken to remedy this for the year 1938 in the *Index* just published, and proposes to continue the publication for succeeding years in printed form. Making a complete index of this nature for the Latin-American countries involves many difficulties and the author admits that this volume is neither complete nor absolutely accurate. It is his hope, however, that in later volumes more assistance from authors, publishers and others in Latin America may be secured to make the Index of greater value. Much of the information for the Index was provided by the National libraries of the different countries and with the aid of Latin-American scholars. Whenever possible books were also consulted in this country, the principal sources being the Library of Congress and the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union. The index consists of 484 pages of closely typed mimeographed material arranged alphabetically by author and subject classifications, which are subdivided by countries. Under the author entry the full title is given including place and date of publication, publisher and collation; in the subject entries, only the author and simple titles are given. There are thus two or more entries which are almost identical, for each of the titles. There are approximately 7,500 of these, some 330 of which refer to history.

Since this is the first volume of a new publication it would be unfair to offer unfavorable criticism, but some suggestions may be given which, it is felt, might be of assistance in the future. In the first place, it would seem less confusing if the duplication of titles could be avoided and entries made only under the classifications with separate author indexes for groups of related subjects. With this arrangement selections of the forty-two subjects could be made available to libraries interested only in their special fields and, at the same time, the complete Index could be supplied to the larger institutions. The work which Mr. d'Eça has undertaken is but the beginning and it is hoped that he may secure the desired aid of collaborators in each country so that a complete index may result under the supervision of an American editor-in-chief as in the present volume. It is hoped also that a similar index may be developed for the periodical literature of the Latin-American countries. The lists of books and articles relating to these countries published elsewhere are now, for the most part, available through other sources.

The present volume is of great use to large general libraries because of its extensive scope and, as a book of reference, it serves specialists well. Librarians of smaller libraries would use it to a less extent since the lack of evaluation makes the selection of books more difficult and other sources could be used to better advantage for their needs. The Index is certainly a step in the right direction and future developments will be awaited with great interest.

WILLIAM B. GREENLEE.

Newberry Library.

BOOK NOTICES

Cristóbal Colón. Diario de Navegación. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Tor, n.d. Pp. 215. \$1.00 m/n.)

A new, popular priced and accurate edition of Las Casas's Abstract of Columbus's Journal of his First Voyage is much wanted. Unfortunately this edition is merely a reprint of the Navarrete text of 1825, with all its errors and misleading identification of places in footnotes. For instance, the costly error of *noruesteaban* for *nord-esteaban* in the Journal for September 13, which has led to such mistaken notions of Columbus's observations of compass variation, is here repeated (cf. *Hisp. Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIX, 241-42). On October 1 the Journal has "el piloto del almirante *tenía* oy, en amanciendo, que avían andado desde la ysla de Hierro hasta aquí 578 leguas al gieste." Navarrete, and the present text have "El piloto del Almirante *temía* hoy. . . ." The French translators made of this, "le pilote de l'amiral disait avec l'accent de crainte . . ." which led Jean Charcot to some unnecessary deductions on the relation of Columbus with *Santa María's* pilot! Occasionally the editor of this edition adds something to Navarrete's notes, such as correcting his false identification of the first landfall; but, in general, this text is simply a new edition of Navarrete. What a pity that the infinitely better text of Cesare de Lollis in the *Raccolta Colombiana* was not used!

S. E. MORISON.

Harvard University.

Documentos inéditos referentes al ilustrísimo señor don Vasco de Quiroga existentes en el Archivo General de Indias. Recopilados por Nicolás León, con una Introducción por José Miguel Quintana [Biblioteca Histórica Mexicana de obras inéditas, XVII]. (Mexico: Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1940. Pp. xx, 91. \$15.00 m/n.)

In 1903 Dr. Nicolás León published his well-known biography of the Bishop of Michoacán, don Vasco de Quiroga. Subsequently the distinguished Chilean bibliographer, José Toribio Medina, uncovered additional materials in the Archivo General de Indias which Dr. León published in an appendix to his work. Additional important documentation was secured for the Archbishop of Michoacán, Atenógenes

Silva, through the efforts of Medina, and León secured copies of these from which the texts, reproduced in the volume under review, were established. The documents deal primarily with founding of the hospitals of Santa Fé de México and Santa Fé de Michoacán, the beginning of the Colegio de San Nicolás and Quiroga's quarrels with residents of Guayangareo (Valladolid de Michoacán) arising out of his effort to make Pátzcuaro the chief city and seat of the Bishopric. The *juicio de residencia* of Quiroga, as a member of the second *audiencia*, contains the charges made against him and the sentence of absolution of the judge, *oidor* Francisco Loaysa.

This little collection of documents is a welcome addition to extant printed materials on this great pioneering ecclesiastic in Mexico and emphasizes the long-felt need for a new full-length biography by someone competent in both church and Latin-American history.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

The University of Michigan.

Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias, en que se tratan las cosas notables del cielo, y elementos, metales, plantas y animales dellas: y los ritos, y ceremonias, leyes y gobierno, y guerras de los Indios. Compuesta por el Padre Joseph de Acosta, Religiosa de la Compañía de Jesús. Edited, with an introduction, by EDMUNDO O'GORMAN. (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1940. Pp. lxxxv; 638.)

The appearance of new and carefully prepared editions of important sources is always gratifying, and Sr. O'Gorman has rendered students of Spanish America a service in making Acosta's erudite and important work more available. In publishing this first Mexican edition of the *Historia Natural y Moral* . . . the editor has followed the original one, which appeared in Seville in 1590. The *Estudio preliminar* through which Sr. O'Gorman introduces the work is in effect a valuable and penetrating essay in which Acosta's personal ideas and aims, as well as the contemporaneous concepts of learning in general and history in particular, are analyzed. The editor makes clear the ideological medium in which Acosta worked, discusses the philosophic trends which influenced him, treats of the sources of his information, especially with respect to the pre-conquest cultures of Mexico, and points out his truly scientific approach to various subjects, notably the origins of the aborigines of the New World. It is emphasized that in producing his work Acosta had practical objectives, both secular and religious, "within the moral utilitarianism of the epoch."

The type employed is very legible, margins are wide, a useful analytical index has been appended, and the edition as a whole is

effectively and attractively presented. Sr. O'Gorman has not accompanied the text with critical notes, but such was apparently not included in his plans of publication.

ROBERT S. CHAMBERLAIN.

Carnegie Institution of Washington.

El indio en la colonización de Buenos Aires. By ROBERTO H. MARFANY.
(Buenos Aires: Talleres gráficos de la Penitencia nacional de Buenos Aires, 1940. Pp. 109.)

Awarded the prize for regional scientific and literary production of the year 1937 (Pampa zone), this study is now published under the auspices of the Comisión Nacional de Cultura. It is a study of Argentine colonial relations with the Indian, from the time of the effective colonization of Buenos Aires by Juan de Garay in 1580 to the establishment of effective Spanish military control of the South frontier in the late eighteenth century.

After an initial note of the importance of the Indian problem in the colonization of Buenos Aires, the author proceeds to the two main topics of his study—the Buenos Aires domestic Indian labor supply (Chapter I) and the menace of the hostile Indian raids from the South and West (Chapters II-IV).

The first chapter describes the life of privation led by the citizens of Buenos Aires because of their lack of an adequate labor supply, the effect of this labor crisis upon rural economy, and the further economic havoc occasioned by the *Ordenanzas* of Alfaro. This study of the labor supply of Buenos Aires is a valuable contribution to a neglected topic, and it adds an interesting and hitherto neglected piece to the puzzle of the whole picture of colonial labor.

Turning from the relatively tamed Indian of *encomienda* or reduction to the possibly hostile Indian on the South frontier, the author follows the historical course of Indian raids and he studies, in considerable detail, the successive measures adopted for the Spanish defense. With the exception of a reliance upon a none-too-clearly proved differentiation between Pampa, Serrano, Auca, and Araucanian Indian and a re-assertion of the old assumption of the inherent and systematic and extraordinary ferocity of those Indians, the author's description presents a well-documented account of events on a vitally important frontier.

The book definitely deserves a place in our libraries on colonial Argentine history.

MADALINE W. NICHOLS.

Hispanic Foundation,
Library of Congress.

Filiación Histórica del Gobierno representativo argentino. By JULIO V. GONZÁLEZ. 2 vols. (Buenos Aires: Editorial "La Vanguardia," 1937-1938. Pp. 287. Pp. 491).

The purpose of this excellent and scholarly work is to show that the democratic representative nature of the government resulting from the Revolución de Mayo was not born of any English and French liberal philosophical influence in Argentina, nor was it the product of Argentine invention. The republican government which the *revolucionarios* set up was merely a trans-Atlantic manifestation of the Spanish revolution. The author agrees with most historians that Argentine independence was the product of the environmental complex of colonial and European historical experience. However, when the Argentines were faced with the necessity of providing a government for their new state they merely brought to fruition a movement having its origin in the political developments of the Spanish revolution. "El movimiento fué argentino en su fin emancipador, pero en lo que significó organización social y política de la nación que se constituía, sólo fué el aspecto americano de la revolución española." (Vol. II, p. 443)

When the Argentine revolutionary junta ordered the election of deputies to the congress (July 18, 1810), it was provided that the electoral norms were to be those of the royal order of October 6, 1809. This order had been issued for the purpose of regulating the choice of a deputy to the Central Junta at Seville. Another royal order, that of January 22, 1809, brought to an end the legal conception that the Spanish colonies were royal domain and made them integral parts of the Spanish nation.

With these two orders as his point of departure, the author develops his argument that Argentina was not the patrimony of any person but belonged to the people, and a representative régime was the proper method of government.

After investigating the work and records of the Central Junta, the Council of Regents, and the extraordinary Cortes, Professor González comes to the conclusion that they had provided for a system of provisional legislation for the establishment of a democratic régime of government in Spain and the Indies. The revolutionary authority of Spain was preparing, without knowing it, the first system of representation which future Argentine democracy was to have.

The documents on which this study is based are reproduced in the appendices of the two volumes.

W. M. G.

Concerning Latin-American culture. CHAS. C. GRIFFIN, ed. [Papers read at Byrdcliffe, Woodstock, N. Y., August, 1939.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1940. Published for the National Committee of the United States of America on International Coöperation. Pp. xiv, 234. \$2.00.)

With introductory remarks by James T. Shotwell and Ben M. Cherrington, this readable and attractively printed volume includes contributions by R. F. Pattee, Fernando de los Rios, Gilberto Freyre, C. C. Griffin, Nathaniel Weyl, William Berrien, R. C. Smith, Concha Romero James, and Amanda Labarca Hubertson. Articles discuss the Spanish background and activities, the significance of the Indian culture, conditions in the Caribbean area and in Mexico alone, Latin-American music and educational development, Spanish-American literature and art, the social development of Portuguese America, and Brazilian art.

The promise of universally high quality implied by the authors' names is kept, but the authors' aims varied greatly. Some of the articles are strictly historical, some are analyses based on history, and some are strictly contemporary surveys. For some authors "culture" means the development of the fine arts, for others it means the total pattern of life, for others it means something close to its meaning in ethnology. It is hardly possible briefly to summarize the content further.

The specialist will find stimulating ideas and suggestions in all articles—this reviewer was charmed to discover Freyre corroborating a pet theory that lack of diaries among Catholic nations is due to the psychological relief of the confessional—but will probably find the greatest additions to his present knowledge in Freyre, ". . . social development of Portuguese America"; Berrien, ". . . contemporary Latin American music"; and Smith, "Brazilian art." He will correspondingly regret the omission of all documentation, but must rejoice that the general reader has gained so excellent an addition to his available literature.

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY.

University of California,
Los Angeles.

International boundaries. A study of boundary functions and problems. By S. WHITEMORE BOGGS. Foreword by ISAIAH BOWMAN. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. xvii, 272 front., 7 plates, 26 textual figures [maps and diagrams]. \$3.25.)

The eleven chapters of this book include two each on theory, the boundaries of the United States (including the Mexican) and those of

Europe, and one each on South America, Asia, Africa, "Water boundaries," and "The peaceful solution." There are three appendices and [p. 247-260] a selective bibliography.

Unless they are justified in criticizing the failure to discuss Middle American boundaries for their own sake, Latin Americanists can find no fault with Boggs' work except its brevity on their subject. It is apparently based in large part on Gordon Ireland's *Boundaries . . . in South America* (1938) rather than on fresh study of the interminable source publications, but Boggs' sense for the essential facts no less than his geographical training has produced a work a deal more valuable to the average reader than Ireland's detailed and legalistic tome. The principles and suggestions of the other chapters proved most informative to the present reviewer, currently working on the Middle American and Caribbean-island aspects of the question. Other Latin-American workers should often find them as valuable as the clearly pertinent chapter. This will long be a "must" book in its field.

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY.

University of California,
Los Angeles.

Francisco de Paula Santander. By JOSÉ MANUEL PÉREZ CABRERA. (La Habana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX," 1940. Pp. 44.)

Discursos leídos en la recepción pública del Dr. Federico de Córdova. (La Habana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX," 1940. Pp. 78.)

Anales de la Academia de la Historia de Cuba, tomo XX, enero-diciembre, 1938. (La Habana: Imprenta "El Siglo XX," 1940. Pp. 155.)

These three volumes are the latest publications of the Cuban Academy of History. The first is the address given by Dr. Pérez Cabrera at the commemoration of the centenary of the death of the Colombian liberator and statesman, Santander, held by the Academy on May 6, 1940. It surveys the life and work of Santander.

The second contains the monograph entitled "La Expedición de Duaba" read by Dr. Córdova at his reception as member of the Academy, together with the reply by Dr. Emeterio S. Santovenia. This is the story of the expedition in which Flor Crombet, Antonio and José Maceo, Frank Agramonte, and other protagonists of the Revolution of 1895 arrived in Cuba.

The last volume records the activities of the Academy during 1938. It contains minutes of meetings, motions passed, presidential remarks,

reports on special questions, and three papers presented by corresponding members upon the occasion of their reception.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

Instituto Nacional de Estudios de Teatro. Cuadernos de Cultura Teatral. Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12. (Buenos Aires, 1940. Pp. 104; 95; 104; 127.)

This series of publications contains the text of lectures relating to the theater and dramatic arts generally delivered by various individuals during the season of 1938 in Buenos Aires in the National Theater under the auspices of the National Cultural Committee. The fifteen lectures appearing in these four *cuadernos* deal with such subjects as "Don Juan en el teatro francés," (No. 9), "Orígenes del teatro argentino," (No. 10), and "Teatro, música y danza en el Japón," (No. 12), each of which is preceded by a brief biographical sketch and portrait of the lecturer. Closer to the interest of the student and historian of Hispanic-American culture is, perhaps, "El teatro en la historia argentina" by Mariano G. Bosch (No. 12). The well-illustrated lectures of Victorina Durán entitled "El indumento durante la conquista," "El indumento español durante la colonización," included in *cuaderno* No. 11, will probably be of most value and interest to the historian since they give detailed descriptions of the wearing apparel of the early period.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

Brown University.

1941. *Cinco Discursos sobre Pasado y Presente de la Nación Venezolana.* By MARIANO PICÓN-SALAS (Caracas: Editorial Impresores Unidos, 1940. Pp. 142.)

These essays are an analysis of the present political situation in Venezuela in the light of the past and in view of the presidential election of 1941, a date which the author believes will prove as significant in the history of the country as 1810, 1830, or 1858. He commends the administration of López Contreras for its respect for the personality and dignity of the individual, for the liberation of thought and discussion and the encouragement of a spirit of political tolerance, and for the initiation of constructive economic and social reforms; an achievement made in the face of opposition from Gomecistas, "leftists," and Old Liberals, who cling to the laissez-faire philosophy of the nineteenth century. He differs from some who have served this

administration in thinking that the problem of today is not merely, or even primarily, a problem of technology to be solved by specialists, experts of one sort or another, much as these are needed, but a problem for statesmen who can formulate a coherent political policy and program and unite the Venezuelan people in a common faith and hope. Such an opportunity was offered to Guzmán Blanco in 1870—to emancipate, unify, and educate the Venezuelan people; it exists again today. The author admits that what he writes “out of the fullness of his heart,” time will have to justify; that he writes for the youth and those who have not lost faith.

Although he rejects the interpretation of Arcaya that Venezuelans are incapable, through factors of race and climate, of democratic government and Vallenilla Lanz’s “democratic caesarism,” he admits that many Venezuelans have come to think of the apogee of the Liberation followed by the “decadence” of later years as the inevitable course of their history. This attitude, he holds, has been a prominent factor in their failure to progress. They have continued to live in the past, on the epic of Bolívar.

One step toward the achievement of union and democracy resulted from the wars of the past century—the leveling of social barriers; another step still to be achieved is the education of the masses. In an essay devoted to this subject, the ideas of three notable Venezuelans are presented; those of Simón Rodríguez, the disciple of Rousseau; Andrés Bello, the classical scholar with progressive outlook; and Cecilio Acosta, the proponent, almost a century ago, of the education of the masses to fit the practical problems of Venezuela. One of the tragedies of Venezuela has been the failure to profit by the ideas of her own great men, the waste of minds as well as men through conditions of turbulence or dictatorship. The author stresses the need today of an education with social and national ends, carefully coördinated with every other phase of national policy.

The last essay is a discussion of the wars in Europe and the Orient and their possible consequences for America.

The author is the director of the National Archives in Caracas.

MARY WATTERS.

Mary Baldwin College.

Garden of the Sun: a history of the San Joaquin Valley from 1772 to 1939. By WALLACE SMITH. (Los Angeles, California: Lymanhouse, 1939. Pp. vii, 558. \$3.50.)

Wallace Smith’s story of the San Joaquin Valley is an important contribution to the history of California. The book contains a preface,

twenty chapters, a number of illustrations and small maps, appendices, and a brief essay on authorities. The first five chapters are devoted to the Indian, Spanish, and Mexican periods, while the remaining fifteen chapters are concerned with the American occupation. Most of the chapter headings are designed to catch the eye, *e.g.*, "Buckskin Shirts and Beaver Traps" (chapter IV), "Helldorado" (chapter VII), "Knights of the Whip" (chapter VIII), "Smokestacks and Pavements" (chapter XV), and "Cabbages and Kings" (chapter XVIII). In addition, each chapter is introduced and concluded with a few lines of well-chosen poetry.

Based on historical fact, yet prepared mainly for popular consumption, the text is well written. The author adequately explains the lack of permanent Spanish settlements in the valley; discusses Mexican colonization and land grants; describes the rush for gold, the development of ranching, farming, and the petroleum industry. More space could have been allotted to the latter, and some mention should have been made of the other mineral deposits, *i.e.*, the quicksilver and coal found in the mountains of the Coast Range at the western rim of the valley. The practice of putting the footnotes at the end of the book handicaps a serious reader and the lack of a detailed bibliography is likewise unsatisfactory. A good map of the San Joaquin Valley would have been most helpful.

ROBERT J. PARKER.

San Francisco Junior College.

Pequena História das Américas. By AFRANIO PEIXOTO. (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1940. Pp. 280.)

The author of this book is a distinguished Brazilian physician, who is also a professor of the Medical School of the *Universidade do Brasil*, one of the foremost novelists of his generation, an essayist, a lecturer, an authority of international reputation on Camões, the Portuguese epic poet, and now the writer of a very good résumé of the history of the Americas. This book, published as Volume VII, series 3, of *Biblioteca do Espírito Moderno*, issued by the Companhia Editora Nacional, comes at a time when the independent countries of the western hemisphere feel that they must stand together if they are to remain in the enjoyment of their political liberties. That they must know each other better in order to accomplish this common purpose is a generally accepted truth. Doctor Peixoto's contribution to this aim is

noteworthy and should circulate, either in the original language, or in translation, throughout the Americas.

It is significant that Canada is also included in this study.

R. D'EÇA.

The George Washington University.

Cárdenas Apóstol vs. Cárdenas Estadista. Segunda Edición. Anotada. By LIC. BENITO XAVIER PÉREZ-VERDÍA. (Mexico City: Privately printed, 1940. Pp. 96. \$1.50 Mex.)

Frente al Tinglado Electoral. By LIC. BENITO XAVIER PÉREZ-VERDÍA. (Mexico City: Privately printed, 1939. Pp. 91. \$1.50 Mex.)

El Presidente Cárdenas, El Derecho, y La Paz. By FRANCISCO MANCISIDOR O. and J. POSADA NORIEGA. (Mexico City: Imp. M. León Sánchez, S. C. L., 1938. Pp. 46. \$0.50 Mex.)

La Doctrina Cárdenas. Texto, Antecedentes, Comentarios. La Doctrina Monroe. La Doctrina Drago. La Doctrina Calvo. La Doctrina Cárdenas. By SALVADOR MENDOZA. (Mexico City: Ediciones Botas, 1939. Pp. 78. \$1.00 Mex.)

El Destino de México. By ISAAC GUZMÁN VALDIVIA. (Mexico City: Ediciones Botas, 1939. Pp. 200. \$2.00 Mex.)

México es así. By ANTONIO BAHAMONDE. (Mexico City: Editorial "México Nuevo." 1940. Pp. 204. \$3.50 Mex.)

All six of these books should be read by the student of present-day México, although perhaps only the last should be studied with care and perhaps placed in the library of everyone who is interested in the history of Mexico since 1867. The two books by Lic. Pérez-Verdía would serve as excellent supplements to the vilifying campaign being carried on by the press of the United States. *Cárdenas Apóstol vs. Cárdenas Estadista* is a series of three essays the purpose of which is to prove that the reforms of the Cárdenas regime require too much money, promise too many projects, tie down business too much (where have we heard that before!), molycoddle labor, cause increasing lack of faith in the government, cause strikes, force Cárdenas to go on too many journeys (nothing is said about fishing trips), and cater too much to the loyalists of Spain who are being brought to Mexico against the wishes of the "respectable" people of Mexico. In the usual tone of the reactionaries of Mexico and the United States, the writer pays the common left-handed compliment to President Cárdenas by insisting that he is a man of integrity and "loftiness

of thought and sincerity of purpose," but that *none* of the men about him share these qualities with him. However in the second essay, lawyer Pérez-Verdía quickly tries to warn us of the dangers of Cárdenas' "loftiness of thought" by warning that Cárdenas has made the presidency an "apostolado" in which *he* has not been the one sacrificed but the legal proprietors of lands, industries, and other genders of goods have been the victims. Cárdenas does not have the vision of a genuine statistician or he would not allow things to be done that are being forced upon the people of México, according to Pérez-Verdía. The great qualities of Cárdenas

are his respect for life, his personal honesty, his love for the proletariat, his marvelous dynamism, the patriotic eagerness that guides his acts, his invariable protection of liberty of thought and his serenity in confronting dangers and crises, reaching with disconcerting [!] speed the very place where his presence is needed, and his ability to dominate events, refusing therefore to be dominated by them. Mohammedan fatalism is unknown to him, and on the contrary in all his actions he reveals himself optimistic, as if he had the miraculous power to chain the future to his will (pp. 27-28).

The great defects of Cárdenas' administration are, according to the writer,

having made a heedless case of all who are not workers or peasants, as if they were not Mexicans, . . . bringing about the distribution of agricultural properties without preoccupying itself even a little with indemnization to their legitimate owners and bringing about in that way a national despoliation of formidable proportions, creating for the nation economic and international conflicts of incalculable importance without counting upon the appropriate measures for solving them, in a word, lacking the vision sufficient to stimulate just and efficacious coöperation of the two great factors of production: capital and labor.

It seems that Pérez-Verdía may be trying to pull the wool over the readers' eyes, for he does not tell him what the history of this type of "coöperation" has been in Mexico. Neither does he tell them the fundamental philosophy of Cárdenas: that to treat two unequal classes equally is not to be neutral but to help the more influential class, and that his government is definitely helping the underprivileged, the workers and the peasants for that reason. (Cárdenas, *En Defensa de los Trabajadores*, Mexico City, April, 1936). In addition, Lic. Pérez-Verdía condemns contributions to the P. N. R. (and later the P. R. M.); the payment of United States agrarian interests and not the Mexican *hacendados* whose properties have been expropriated; the militarism in Mexican politics; the fostering of communism which now cannot be stopped by Cárdenas' successor (this seems far-fetched, for in the first place it is hardly communism that Mexico is experimenting with, but "Mexicanism," as Señor Baha-

monde has pointed out, and in the second place we know now that the successor of Cárdenas is swinging at least a little to the right); the enforcement of Article Three of the Constitution regarding socialist education and the expulsion of the clergy from all teaching (but he does not say that the teaching of the catechism is still permitted in the churches and that under Cárdenas the Church has been more fairly treated than it has been since 1920); the lack of minority representation (but he says nothing about Cárdenas' desire for exactly that and the seating of three Almazán supporters in the House of Deputies); the policy of the government toward the private electric industry; the organization of public servants and permitting them the right to strike; leaderism in labor unions; etc. The fact that in *Frente al Tinglado Electoral* the same writer definitely hints at the election of an "independent" in order that Mexico may experience the same "miracle" as that which overtook Spain with the revolt of Franco and that throughout both books he is far too vehement and all-embracing in his condemnations make the reader feel that the author is more than a little biased. His constant warnings against the dangers of "communism," moreover, allow us easily to guess to which class in Mexico he belongs.

Guzmán Valdivia approaches the Mexican situation in the same light as Pérez-Verdía but he does it in a much more philosophical manner. For that reason his book, even if one cannot agree with its basic points, is much more interesting. Guzmán is definitely a Hispanist and believes that the destiny of Mexico lies in a closer approach to the Mother Country. He fails entirely to mention the influence of the Indian in Spanish-American life and civilization. One gets suspicious of his frequent quoting of Spengler. He falls into the same old error of most Latins in condemning all Anglo-Saxons as being cold and without passion or emotion. "Among Anglo-Saxons," according to him, "reason dominates and guides." If that were true there might never have been a Hitler. The Mexicans, and by implication all Spanish-Americans, are like the Spaniards in wanting to die heroically rather than live a common-place, material life, as do the Anglo-Saxons. Hence the Mexican, who has been greatly influenced by American ideas "which have leaped across the Rio Bravo," is actually undergoing a constant struggle with himself. He must again find himself by rejecting Anglo-Saxon material civilization and reëmbreacing Hispanism. Only then will he be happy. The theme of Guzmán is summed up in the last few sentences of his book: "Tenemos una misión que cumplir: reintegrarnos a la vida hispana. Tenemos un solo destino: *El Destino de la Hispanidad*." But he never states whether he pre-

fers the Franco and Falangist type of Hispanism or the Republican type. But from his admiration of the past glories of Spain as a warrior nation and from his frequent quotations from Spengler, there remains little doubt that he prefers the Caudillo's Spain. The book was written early in 1939. Incidentally, it could have been improved by less frequent use of certain words, such as *rango*, *atrofía*, and *ánimico*.

The three remaining books are much more favorable to Cárdenas. Mancisidor and Posada Noriega praise Cárdenas for his humaneness and generosity and show with statistics how a material and spiritual rebirth has taken place in Mexico under Cárdenas. Bahamonde goes much more into detail on this point giving statistical tables that are of great aid to the teacher of Mexican history and to the researcher. Cárdenas, according to Mancisidor and Posada, has helped industrialists in Mexico to come to a realization that their laborers are human (the promises of the Republican candidates in the recent election in the United States seem to indicate that Roosevelt has succeeded in doing the same thing in the United States) and in fact many of these industrialists have come to love their laborers as their own kin and to establish intimate comradeships with them. They cite several examples of Mexican, Spanish, and French bosses and managers of industry who have done this, but curiously enough they mention no British or American example. All the American nations will benefit from Cárdenas' "honorable and generous executive policies," and perhaps in that way industrial peace may be brought to each country. Above all, Cárdenas has shown that Mexico wants to live in peace, a just peace.

Mendoza's treatise is based on a speech made by President Cárdenas on September 10, 1938, in which he said "El individuo que se desprende de su país para encontrar en otro lo que le hace falta en el suyo, tiene el deber imprescindible de aceptar todas las circunstancias propicias o adversas, del ambiente que lo acoge, y por un concepto compensativo, ha de gozar también de todas las prerrogativas del ciudadano útil y respetable de la sociedad en que vive." This is merely an expansion of the Calvo and Drago doctrines, accepted today by all the Latin-American nations. The Cárdenas Doctrine precludes extraterritoriality in the independent Americas. Mendoza's pamphlet should be of great interest to international lawyers.

Bahamonde's *México es así* is perhaps the most complete yet sensible, calm, and clear presentation of Mexico's problems that has come from the pen of a Mexican writer. In a book of excellent format, in smooth, flowing Castilian, and with frequent allusions to European

intellectuals (including Laski, Le Bon, and Malaparte), and with adequate, direct, and helpful statistics, he presents the tragic history of Mexico in such a manner as should leave even the most die-hard reactionary sympathetic toward the Mexican people in their age-old struggle for the expansion of democratic privileges. Excellent indeed are the discussions of the land problems and the question of the sub-soil and other natural wealth of Mexico (found in chapters V and VI respectively). On the idea that Mexico should throw herself back into the arms of Spain, Bahamonde would take strong issue with Guzmán (p. 198). The destiny of Mexico according to Bahamonde is to become the metropolis of the Spanish-American nations, so that they can look to her for guidance, and "her independence and her material prosperity are the means which will make possible the era of artistic, literary, and scientific greatness, in a word, her spiritual greatness, which Mexico will have to live in the near future to the pride of the Indo-Latin race." (p. 202) The problems of Mexico are Mexican and must be solved for the good of all Mexicans. Mexico is not communist or fascist, but Mexican. Mexico is distinct from both Europe and the United States, but she has taken from both what she could use to her advantage. The author agrees with Vicente Lombardo Toledano in the opinion that the "principal problem of all the countries of Latin America is the problem of raising the standard of living of their working masses and to conquer their true autonomy in the economic order so that they may proclaim in a sincere manner their political independence." That is a point upon which North Americans have done little thinking, in spite of frequent allusions to that point by sincere Latin-American diplomats in the United States. It is the opinion of the reviewer that Bahamonde, if anything, is far too modest in his praise of the Cárdenas administration. The American people could learn much from a comparative study of the struggle for democracy in the history of Mexico and of the United States. These are after all merely minor phases of the struggle for common decency and common sense throughout the history of mankind.

FRITZ L. HOFFMANN.

University of Colorado.

Historia del Perú: Fuentes. [Curso Universitario.] By RUBÉN VARGAS UGARTE, S. J. (Lima, Peru: La Empresa Periodística, S. A., 1939. Pp. 330. \$5.00 m/n.)

This work on the sources of Peruvian history was not planned to be the usual bibliography or catalogue but, as the subtitle indicates, a

textbook for a course on the subject given in the Catholic University of Peru. This fact modifies its value as a tool for Anglo-American students. The titles are not given in numbered lists with easy means of cross reference. Instead, each chapter of the book is a critical essay on the various items of one type of source. The names of these chapters will serve to suggest the contents:

- I. Concept of History
- II. What are Sources?
- III. Bibliographies
- IV. Types of Documents
- V. Collections of Books
- VI. Archives and Libraries
- VII. Chroniclers of the Conquest
- VIII. Geographical, Ecclesiastical, and Juridical Writings
- IX. Convent Chroniclers
- X. Historians and Official Reports
- XI. Types of Colonial Histories
- XII. Independence and the Republic

Padre Vargas' comments are extremely illuminating and helpful so that no worker on Peru can afford to ignore this guide, even though the only means of locating a particular title, beyond the chapter headings, is an alphabetical list of the names of persons mentioned with page references. A very valuable section is that on archives in which the author tells the sad story of Peruvian archival collections. There is no attempt at a detailed catalogue of papers but the extent and nature of the archival material remaining in Peru are indicated. The ecclesiastical archives, which Padre Vargas himself has helped to preserve and systematize, are described to the advantage of future workers in this relatively untapped vein. All in all, this book gives a distinctive and unusual guide to the researcher on Peru, checking his bibliography and saving him much time in its criticisms and descriptions of various sources. Beyond this, it serves to convince one that a critical and scientific generation of new history students is being well taught in the universities of Peru.

ROBERT E. McNICOLL.

University of Miami.

Poesías, Discursos y Cartas de José María Heredia. Biography by MARÍA LACOSTE DE ARUFE and critical judgments by JOSÉ MARTÍ, MANUEL SANGUILY, ENRIQUE PIÑEYRO, and RAFAEL ESTENGER. [Colección de Libros Cubanos. Directed by Fernando Ortiz. Vols. XLI and XLII.] (Havana: Cultural, S. A., 1939. 2 vols. Pp. ccviii, 196; 397. Cloth, \$2.00; paper, \$1.50.)

María Lacoste de Arufe has written a full-length biography of Heredia in 208 pages of the first volume of this work. There is considerable emphasis upon the phases of the poet's life most interesting to Americans—his visit to Niagara and his work as a precursor. Between the biographical matter and the texts there is a bibliography of the works of this distinguished Cuban (clxxv-cxevi) and a list of works about him (cxevii-cc). The fact that the actual poetry is accompanied by discourses and letters which have survived makes the book useful not only as a collection of literature and literary criticism but also as a small contribution to history.

La Ciudad Portatil. Historia de la Provincia de Trujillo. By AMÉRICO BRICEÑO VALERO. (Caracas: Ediciones de "Renovación," 1939. Pp. 173. Bs. 4.00.)

Historia de la Guaira. By AMÉRICO BRICEÑO VALERO. (Caracas: Coop. de Artes Gráficas, 1937. Pp. 138.)

These two books are a useful addition to a growing list of local histories by Venezuelan writers; histories which began to appear in the colonial period with the publication (1779) of the famous *Historia de la Nueva Andalucía* of Caulín. Since that date other histories and collections of local historical documents have appeared, among them Arcaya's *Historia del Estado Falcón*, González's *Historia Estadística de Cojedes*, Tavera-Acosta's *Anales de Guayana*, and Silva's *Documentos para la Historia de la Diócesis de Mérida*. Localism and regionalism, probably more pronounced in Venezuela than in other Hispanic-American states, might be expected to give special emphasis to this field of historical writing.

In *La Ciudad Portatil*, the author gives particular attention to the foundation of Trujillo. This "portable" city was moved many times during a period covering sixteen years, before it was finally planted in 1572 in its present location. Indian raids, pests, epidemics of fever, and finally a bitter factional conflict between the *ruicistas* and *garcistas* caused this impermanency. One removal was delayed until the death of a governor who was too fat to ride a horse over the mountains. During this period of sixteen years of "wandering,"

houses were built and furnished with the idea of mobility; economic life had an equally ephemeral character. These facts about Trujillo illustrate the experience of many a Venezuelan city.

Once permanently fixed, Trujillo soon became the outstanding city of Venezuela in its trade, wealth, and culture; but in 1668, this period of preëminence was ended by the virtual destruction of the place by the French pirate, Grammont. Many of its chief citizens went away to help build up the greatness of its neighbor, Mérida.

Among significant facts about the later history of Trujillo stressed by the author are: the small land divisions, in contrast to the latifundia system more generally practiced, still a peculiar distinction of this section, the author states; the absence of Negro slavery, which preserved the purity of the Castilian tongue in contrast to the speech of the coast; the *cimarronadas* rebellions of the Indians against the whites, provoked by fugitive Negroes, an activity notorious in other parts of America; the Indian groups, their culture, and their relations with the Spanish, notably the peculiar relations of the Goajiros based on agreements still maintained by the Republic; the beginnings of the long Venezuelan boundary controversy with New Granada in the conflict over the jurisdiction of the latter over Trujillo; the early economic, social, and cultural orientation toward Bogotá later shifted to Caracas and still later toward Mérida and Maracaibo; the effort of Trujillo to secure autonomy as a separate province; her support of the patriot cause in the War for Independence in contrast with the rather strong loyalism of her capital Maracaibo; the relative aloofness of Trujillo from the civil conflicts of the national period, and her devotion to the ideals of peace and work. The author gives much more space to the colonial period. Most of the material on the national period consists of lists with some biographical sketches of prominent *trujillaños*.

In his *Historia de La Guaira* the author employs a somewhat episodical method of treatment to which the subject easily lends itself. As the chief port of Venezuela La Guaira has been the theatre of many spectacular incidents in the history of the country. It suffered attacks from French, Dutch, and English pirates, its early importance lying chiefly in its service as a defense for the capital, Caracas. The establishment of the Guipuzcoa Company, with La Guaira as the chief port of entrance and exit, enhanced the commercial importance of the city. The political vicissitudes of Venezuelan history have caused many important individuals to pass out this port as exiles or return through it as the political scene changes; or to have their remains returned through it, as happened in the cases of Bolívar and Páez.

Foreign influences have been prominent in its history; and it has had to bear the result of foreign entanglements, notably in the famous blockade of 1903. These incidents and others are discussed. There is a list of notable sons of La Guaira, outstanding among which are the famous "civilian" president Dr. José María Vargas, Carlos Soublette, and the poet, Pérez Bonalde.

MARY WATTERS

Mary Baldwin College.

Our Maginot Line: The Defense of the Americas. By LIVINGSTON HARTLEY. (New York: Garrick & Evans, 1939. Pp. 315. \$2.75.)

It would be unfair to American historians and teachers of Hispanic-American history not to call this book to their attention in the present crisis, for it is something more than an analysis of the military problem of defending America. It is the author's thesis that the dawn of political and military solidarity of the half-billion people on either extremity of Eurasia would be a calamity to the United States of America and an industrial, military, and naval problem entirely new in American history. Leaving the problem of defense to one side, it is quite easy to follow Mr. Hartley's examination of the problem in the light of American diplomatic history. Relying upon American authorities like Professor Bemis for his diplomatic history, Mr. Hartley shows that American statesmen have always acted upon the assumption that it would be unwise to take a passive attitude toward the breakdown of the balance of power in Europe, especially through national force. The same type of logic draws attention inexorably to the Far East. In the face of the contingency in Europe which is today a definite conception in the minds of laymen as well as soldiers, Mr. Hartley suggested as inevitable in February, 1939, the very precautionary measures which seem to be brewing in Anglo-American diplomacy in 1941. A careful and plausible use of diplomatic history has been made in this book. While it serves only to confirm what the diplomatic historians already knew, it is a contribution which they should not overlook, for it adds the ingredients of current world economic, political, and military problems in Europe and the Far East as well as in the Americas.

Positive and Negative Factors in Inter-American Relations. By JORGE ROA. (Havana: Compañía Editora de Libros y Folletos, 1939. Pp. 74.)

This is a welcome publication in printed form of a series of lectures given in English at various colleges in the southern United States in

1938-1939 (Florida State College for Women, Emory University, Chattanooga University, Wesleyan College, Rollins and St. Petersburg colleges, University of Maryland).

Biblioteca de Cultura Peruana. Primera serie. Edited by VENTURA GARCÍA CALDERÓN. Patrocinada por el Señor General Oscar R. Benavides, Presidente Constitucional de la República. (13 vols. in 12. Paris: Desclée, de Brouwer, 1938. Belgian francs, 150.)

This set, designed to represent the epitome of Peruvian culture, has been arranged in thirteen small volumes. These volumes embrace copious excerpts from Inca literature, chroniclers, colonial literature, customs, mystics, and national literature as represented in select passage of the *Tradiciones* of Ricardo Palma and the poems of José Santos Chocano. The work was done under the general editorship of Ventura García Calderón who worked in close coöperation with Dr. Carlos Concha, the foreign minister, José de la Riva Agüero, and Jorge Basadre. The editors of the separate volumes and their titles are as follows:

Literatura Inca. Edited by Jorge Basadre. Vol. I. Pp. 475.

Los Cronistas de la Conquista. Edited by Horacio H. Urteaga. Vol. II. Pp. 231.

Garcilaso de la Vega Inca, *Páginas Escogidas.* Edited by Ventura García Calderón. Vol. III. Pp. 460.

Los Cronistas de Convento. Edited by José de la Riva Agüero. Vol. IV. Pp. 358.

El Apogeo de la Literatura Colonial. Edited by Ventura García Calderón. Vol. V. Pp. 349.

Concolorcovo, *El Lazarillo de Ciegos Caminantes.* Edited by Ventura García Calderón. Vol. VI. Pp. 352.

Los Místicos: de Hojeda a Valdés. Edited by Ventura García Calderón. Vol. VII. Pp. 288.

Los Románticos: de Melgar a Gonzáles Prada. Edited by Ventura García Calderón. Vol. VIII. Pp. 290.

Costumbristas y Satíricos: de Terralla a Yerovi. Edited by Ventura García Calderón. Vol. IX. Pp. 343.

Diccionario de Peruanismos. Edited by Juan de Arona. Vol. X. Pp. 399.

Ricardo Palma, *Tradiciones Escogidas.* Edited by Ventura García Calderón. Vol. XI. Pp. 264.

José Santos Chocano, *Poesías Escogidas.* Edited by Ventura García Calderón. Vol. XII. Pp. 266.

This collection, above everything else, illustrates sharply the high order of achievement in Peruvian letters from the time of the convent chroniclers to José Santos Chocano. Naturally, it is not expected that a collection of this kind will be any great boon to the research worker, but the set will be found especially useful in private and small college libraries. Some of the volumes, such as the selected *Tradiciones*

of Ricardo Palma, would be most acceptable reading for American students interested in the Spanish language. Each volume includes a bibliographical list and a preliminary statement by the editor. In some cases, as in that of Riva Agüero and Horacio Urteaga, this statement is so extensive as to make a contribution to learning. The editor of this series does not make the mistake which most anthologists make; he has recognized what might be called conventional or representative literature in a volume entitled *Los Místicos*. Certainly no one could ignore "the tired and conventional rhetoric of the convent" as found in Juan Meléndez and claim to present a panorama of Peruvian culture. However, one looks in vain for Calancha.

The print in the preliminary statement is too small for comfortable reading, but the main text has been published in decent type. The edition is bound with substantial paper.

Colección Estrada. Edited by JULIO NOÉ and a consulting committee composed of ROBERTO F. GIUSTI, ÁLVARO MELIÁN LAFINUR, and ALBERTO JULIÁN MARTÍNEZ. (Buenos Aires: Angel Estrada y Cía., 1939. 9 vols. \$1.50 m/n each.)

A library of Argentine culture was not apparently the first thought of the publishers of this set. Rather a collection of one hundred classics from the point of view of the Argentine nation and the Spanish language seems to have been the design. The publishers call it a library "de difusión cultural y de consulta." Such a project made it possible to include Homer and Plato, but the collection is not without interest to the Hispanist. The principal orientation of the subject is contained in a foreword of about fifteen pages. The type is small and, once the paper becomes yellow, is difficult to read. Volumes to come will include such names as Calderón de la Barca, Hudson, Mitre, Ameghino, and Darío. A list of authors, titles, and editors of the separate volumes already published will sufficiently differentiate those of general and those of specific interest.

Domingo F. Sarmiento, *Mi Vida*. Text arranged and annotated by Julio Noé. Vols. I and II. Pp. x, 177; 205. (Second edition.)

Santiago de Estrada, *Viajes y Otras Páginas Literarias*. Selection, preface, and notes by Ricardo Ryan. Vol. III. Pp. xv, 280.

Platón, *Apología de Sócrates; Critón*. Edited by Arturo Marasso. Vol. IV. Pp. xiv, 151.

Homero, *Ilíada; Odisea* (selecciones). Selection, preface, and notes by Roberto F. Giusti. Vol. V. Pp. xiv, 153.

Nicolás Avellaneda, *Escritos Literarios*. Selection, preface, and notes by Álvaro Melián Lafinur. Vol. VI. Pp. xiii, 183.

José Enrique Rodó, *La Tradición Intelectual Argentina*. Selection and preface by Rafael Alberto Arrieta. Vol. VII. Pp. xvi, 189.

José Martí, *Páginas Selectas*. Selection, preface, and notes by Raimundo Lida. Vol. VIII. Pp. xvii, 318.

Eduardo Wilde, *Páginas Escogidas*. Selection, preface, and notes by José María Monner Sans. Vol. IX. Pp. xvii, 280.

Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán. By P. FRAY DIEGO DE LANDA. Introduction and Notes by HÉCTOR PÉREZ MARTÍNEZ. Seventh edition. (Mexico, D. F.: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938. Pp. 411.)

The firm of Pedro Robredo has published this work in an exceedingly acceptable edition. The printing is excellent in both the text and the notes. The editor has frequently illuminated Bishop Landa's work with useful notes and occasional illustrations. There are twelve documents published for the first time besides an index of "*voces mayas*" used in the text and the notes as well as another of proper names. In short, this book possesses the embellishments and features so desired by American scholars and so generally neglected by most Latin-American publishers. It is an opportunity for American students and libraries, especially those without any edition of this famous work.

A Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba (1528-1841). By MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M. [Franciscan Studies, XXI. Edited by MARION HABIG, O.F.M.] (Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1940. Pp. xii, 140. Paper, \$1.50; cloth, \$2.00.)

This little book is part of the author's project to make a complete dictionary of Franciscan biography for what is now the United States. The author, who has demonstrated sound training in historical method, has already edited and published, among other things, *The Martyrs of Florida (1513-1616)*, by Luis Gerónimo Oré, and the more exhaustive *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida (1573-1618)*. In this *Dictionary* he has written an introduction and included fourteen résumés of the most significant documents in the history of the missions in Florida.

The author has arranged the Franciscans of Florida in alphabetical order. Each name is followed by biographical information, ranging in length from a few lines to a column or two. After the information come the supporting references to printed and manuscript materials. They offer ample evidence of the patient and thorough combing of manuscript materials, preponderantly transcripts in the United States. This is the kind of study that a person engaged in writing the mission history of the South Atlantic region would relish,

but when a man is in a position to prepare such a dictionary as this he has already done the work himself. Nevertheless, this *Biographical Dictionary* will serve as a useful handbook for the scores of people looking for data on individual friars. And to the Franciscans it will be not merely a reference tool but an inspiring list. Consultants can be sure that everything reasonable has been done to make the list complete and the information as full as possible.

The Emperor Charles V: The Growth and Destiny of a Man and of a World-Empire. By KARL BRANDI. Translated from the German by C. V. WEDGWOOD. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939. Pp. 655. \$5.00.)

It will not be necessary to offer criticism of this well-known book since reviews were published in the United States at the time of the appearance of the German edition. It is always difficult to translate from the German and at the same time avoid being influenced by the sentence structure which, when carried into English, appears so awkward. The translation is as good as could be expected.

NOTES AND COMMENT*

PAN-AMERICANISM AT THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

In 1930 the University of Florida established an Institute of Inter-American Affairs for the purpose of fostering educational and cultural relations between the countries of the Western Hemisphere. With this purpose in mind general conferences were held in 1931 and 1933, and again in April, 1940. The Institute at Florida has sponsored an exchange of students between Latin America and the University of Florida, and has also been instrumental in arranging exchanges of lecturers between universities in the South and similar institutions in Latin America. Dr. Rollin S. Atwood is Director of the Institute.

The Educational and Cultural Conference for 1940 was opened on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of the Pan-American Union by John J. Tigert, President of the University of Florida. President Tigert paid tribute to Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director of the Pan-American Union, and spoke briefly of the cultural activities of this important organization. President Tigert then mentioned with frankness certain unfavorable aspects of relations in the past between the United States and Latin America, and gave examples of a new outlook in this hemisphere, the most notable being the proposed exchange of students and professors between the various countries of America.

President Wallace W. Atwood of Clark University spoke of the unequal distribution of natural resources among the countries of the world, the interdependence of all nations, and the necessity for a fair and just method of exchange of products. Particularly significant is the fact that English-speaking countries control or own three fourths of the mineral wealth of the world. President Atwood pointed out the earnest desire of all peoples for peace and made a moving appeal for an informed understanding in the Americas.

The program of the Conference brought out clearly a fact of the utmost importance in the understanding of Latin America: namely, that the countries to the south are not all alike. Señor Jorge Obligado gave a thorough-going account of the history and nature of

* The majority of the unsigned notes in this section have been prepared by Mr. Chester L. Guthrie, The National Archives. Credit for this useful work in this and other numbers is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

Argentina, its intellectual ties with France, and its educational contacts with both France and the United States. The work of Sarmiento in this respect was of peculiar interest. Señor Obligado spoke of the vast pampa, its great resources, the absence of natural obstacles to the development of these resources, and the flood of immigration which populated the country and helped make it what it is today. The speaker dwelt at length on the school system of Argentina and gave other reasons for the strong position occupied by Argentina in the American world.

Señor Obligado was followed by Dr. Richard F. Behrendt, Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Panama, who explained the reasons for the late development of Panama: its small and varied population, and the fact that it was cut off from intellectual contacts during much of its history. In spite of these obstacles, Panama has made remarkable achievements since 1903. Of particular interest was his account of the University of Panama, founded in 1935, whose policy has departed from that of other Latin-American universities in that full-time teachers have been employed and an attempt has been made to engage in research work in social studies.

Dr. R. Ernesto López, former Minister of Public Instruction in Venezuela, spoke of two great Venezuelan educators: Simón Rodríguez, who had such an important influence on Simón Bolívar; and of Andrés Bello, whose extraordinary work so profoundly affected the intellectual life of Chile. Dr. López pointed out that Venezuela was slow in extending its educational system due to the repressive measures of certain dictators. Following these remarks, Dr. López showed motion pictures of the remarkable efforts to extend rural education in his native country, particularly by teachers operating from trailers. These men give instruction in sanitation and hygiene, and render medical assistance as well as impart rudimentary education.

The audience heard President Roosevelt speaking from the Pan American Union. The President said that peace in the West has taken on a new meaning. It is a coöperative endeavor, which means respect for the integrity of other nations, and recognition of equal rights for all.

A practical suggestion for better understanding was made by Señor Ernesto Montenegro, in a paper read by his son, advocating a common reader in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French for the elementary schools of the Americas. In the audience were many high school pupils, some of whom later in the day participated in a declamation contest. The performance of the four who reached the finals

showed clearly that Florida has a wealth of material in her high-school population and able teachers who are developing it.

President Atwood of Clark University illustrated by numerous examples the importance of geography to other fields of study. Geography, he said, is valuable to the young as a cultural subject, and it will help both young and old to be intelligent observers of the physical world that lies about them.

Dr. Behrendt of the University of Panama presented the need for a solution of certain economic problems which stand in the way of the extensive program of Pan Americanism now in operation. He outlined possible activities of a center of research which might investigate these problems.

Dr. José Padín, former Commissioner of Education in Puerto Rico, said that Puerto Rico was one of the major supports of the bridge of islands connecting North and South America. Puerto Rico had been important to Spain for military reasons, and still is important to the two Americas for the same cause. It has been, and still is, an experiment station, a racial and cultural frontier. There the United States has a unique opportunity to develop the two most important languages of America.

Sturgis E. Leavitt of the University of North Carolina spoke of the necessity for a knowledge of geography and history for a proper understanding of Spanish-American literature. He mentioned the difficulties attending the teaching of this subject: lack of suitable histories of literature, the absence of critical studies (now being remedied in part by the work by Torres Rioseco and others), and the dialect and Indian words found in many Spanish-American novels. The teaching of Spanish American literature, he said, calls for a realistic presentation tempered with sympathy and understanding. Spanish-American literature at present is greater in promise than in achievement.

Dr. José Padín advocated the broadening of the present linguistic policy to meet the present situation. He argued for opening up the principal channels of communication, Spanish and English, for the greatest number at the earliest possible moment.

After discussion of these and other topics the following resolutions were adopted:

1. That wherever feasible consideration of Latin America should be included in general courses in American history, geography and the social sciences.
2. That wherever possible department barriers be broken down so as to include an inter-departmental major. That in this major a minimum requirement should be a reading knowledge of Spanish and a knowledge of spoken

Spanish. That wherever possible a survey of Spanish literature should precede the study of Spanish-American literature.

3. That courses in Spanish-American literature should use available Spanish translations of Brazilian literature until such time as Portuguese and Brazilian literature in the original can be introduced.

4. That the idea of an exchange of students on the undergraduate level be commended.

5. That the idea of introducing a common reader, or series of readers, dealing with both North and South America into the elementary schools of the two continents be commended.

6. That the activities of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs at the University of Florida be endorsed.

The University of Florida is fortunate in having a large number of students of Spanish in the high schools of the state from which to draw recruits. It has been singularly successful in arranging a program for Latin-American students, of which seventeen were in residence for the year 1939-40, representing the countries of Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Peru and Puerto Rico (if Puerto Rico can be called Latin-American). This number was supplemented by numerous Spanish-speaking students from Tampa.

STURGIS E. LEAVITT.

University of North Carolina.

GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES CONCERNING HISPANIC AMERICA

In accordance with the acknowledged policy of the United States to establish and to cultivate good relations with the countries of Hispanic America, many of the governmental departments and agencies have embarked upon rather ambitious programs. Most outstanding in such activities have been the Department of State, National Defense Commission, Library of Congress, Office of Education, Department of Commerce, Department of Agriculture, and the Smithsonian Institution.

In the Department of State there are two principal divisions and one office which deal with Hispanic-American relations. The Division of American Republics, although very recent under its present designation, has in effect been in existence under other titles for many years, and is the channel of ordinary State Department relations with Hispanic America. Two new members of the division have been taken from among the specialists in the field of history: James King, on leave from Tulane University, and Murray M. Wise, formerly of the Hispanic Foundation in the Library of Congress. The Division of Cultural Relations was established on July 27, 1938, to "make friends for the United States abroad through the development of a greater understanding and appreciation of the best contributions which this country may exchange with other nations." It works closely with governmental and private organizations and institutions engaged in intellectual coöperation. Exchange of professors and students, distribution of libraries and representative American works, activities in connection with expositions, radio broadcasts, coöperation in the fields of art, music, literature, and other intellectual and cultural pursuits all come within the scope of the Division. Although the work of the Division of Cultural Relations embraces all countries, the principal activities at the present time are confined to Hispanic America.

A Central Translating Office has been established in the Department of State to translate all government documents into Spanish and Portuguese for printing.

Subordinate to the Council of National Defense, but responsible also directly to the President, is the Office for Coördination of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics. The

order establishing the Coördinator was signed on August 16, 1940, and Nelson A. Rockefeller was appointed to head the new organization. The Coördinator acts as a liaison officer between different branches of the government interested in Hispanic America. He is also charged with the formulation and execution of programs, in conjunction with the Department of State, to make the most effective use of public and private facilities which would further national defense by strengthening the bonds between the nations of the Western Hemisphere. Assisting Mr. Rockefeller, besides his regular staff, are many volunteers from the business and intellectual worlds.

At the Library of Congress a number of guides are in preparation, many of which were made possible by a special grant from Congress obtained through the Committee for Coöperation with the American Republics. Robert C. Smith, of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library, is about to leave on a five month's trip to all of the countries of Hispanic America in order to gather data for a guide to the material of fine arts. He will visit art schools, art historians, museums, and private art collections. He is leaving for Mexico the first week in January. James B. Childs of the Document Division is beginning work, with the assistance of Henry McGeorge, on a guide to the United States government documents dealing with Hispanic America. In the Law Library Crawford Bishop is at work upon a guide to the legal publications of the countries other than the A. B. C. powers. Such a guide has already been prepared for the A. B. C. powers.

In the Music Division of the Library a program has been proposed for building up the Hispanic-American collection of music and for beginning a guide to the materials. For the current periodical literature from Hispanic America, a preliminary guide, containing about 1000 titles, has been prepared by Murray M. Wise and will shortly go to press. Later a corrected edition will be prepared after sufficient comments and criticisms have been received.

Philip Powell, from the University of California, is going to the Library of Congress to act as editor for a record of or guide to investigations in progress in Hispanic-American studies (social studies and the humanities).

Similar to the activities of the Library of Congress is the program of the Smithsonian Institution, which proposes to publish a handbook on South American Indians, in somewhat the same fashion as Hodge's well-known handbook on North American Indians.

THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

A quarterly journal of marine research, *The American Neptune*, is to be launched in January, 1941. While published in the United States, the journal will also be concerned as far as possible with Canada and Hispanic America. The many fields of interest, while divergent, have a common basis and will doubtlessly make an appeal to an unexpectedly large range of readers. These fields will include at least the following:

1. Technical nautical and marine historical research.
2. General historical articles.
3. History of scientific navigation.
4. Sea lore.
5. Biography.
6. Marine art.
7. Documents.
8. Ship models.
9. Marine museums.
10. Bibliography.
11. Notes and queries.

It is the aim of the editors to "achieve a balance between accurate technical articles and readable general articles without undue emphasis upon either." They propose to maintain liveliness as well as high standards of accuracy and style. Above all, the publication is intended to serve as a means of communication between its readers who, it is hoped, will assume an active share in its progress. Since *The American Neptune* is noncommercial, no payments are made for contributions. In keeping with this policy the editors receive no pay and receipts from subscriptions go entirely to defray the costs of printing and distribution. The preliminary statement was made possible by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

The editors are M. V. Brewington, Howard I. Chapelle, Lincoln Colcord, Walter Muir Whitehill, and Vernon D. Tate (book review editor). A special board of advisory editors includes thirty-three names. Professor Samuel Eliot Morison and other historians are included in this list. These men have made it plain that they want to coöperate with other journals as well as with authors and readers and

propose to "refer articles which may not fall within the purview of the *Neptune* to other suitable publications." In the early issues of this new journal there will appear certain articles of concern to Hispanists such as "Columbus and Polaris," by Samuel Eliot Morison, "The First Voyage of Columbus," by John W. McElroy, and "The *Instrucción Nauthica* of Diego García de Palacio," by Vernon D. Tate. Mr. Tate, a Hispanist himself, is the book review editor, and will arrange in each issue for the review of an outstanding old book on a nautical theme.

The quarterly will be published in January, April, July, and October, beginning in 1941. All communications should be addressed to The Editors of *The American Neptune*, c/o Peabody Museum, East India Marine Hall, Salem, Massachusetts.

NEW CHIEF OF THE DIVISION OF CULTURAL RELATIONS

Upon the resignation of Mr. Ben M. Cherrington last June 20, after a critical and intense period of successful activity in inter-American cultural relations, Secretary Cordell Hull appointed Mr. Charles A. Thompson to this increasingly important office of Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State. Mr. Thompson's is a long-standing interest in Latin-American and foreign affairs, as both the posts he has held and the studies he has collaborated in indicate. Simultaneously with his resignation, Dr. Cherrington accepted the appointment offered by the Secretary of State to the General Advisory Committee of the Division of Cultural Relations. The other members of this committee are: Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, Dr. Waldo G. Leland, Mr. Archibald MacLeish, Mr. Carl H. Milam, Dr. James T. Shotwell, and Dr. John W. Studebaker.

ESPAÑA PEREGRINA

In the first months of 1940 a group of Spanish expatriates, organized in Mexico as the Junta de Cultura Española, began the publication of a monthly called *España Peregrina*. The direction of this group has been entrusted to José Bergamín, José Carner, and Juan Larrea. Its secretary is Eugenio Imaz, while its seventeen *vocales* include such distinguished persons as Manuel Márquez, dean of the faculty of medicine of the University of Madrid, Tomás Navarro Tomás, well-known scholar and director of the National Library of Madrid, and Pablo Picasso, painter. The review which these men publish and hope to make grow issues from the only common ground on which these men could meet—Hispanic culture. The result is that there is an

interest in music evinced in a musical score for a sonnet of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz by Rodolfo Halffter, an article on Miguel Unamuno by Pablo L. Landsberg, some poetry of Unamuno, various other articles, and book reviews. The annual subscription rate is \$2.00 in the Americas and \$2.50 (U. S. cy.) in other countries, while a single number can be bought for one Mexican peso. The address is Dinamarca, 80, Mexico, D. F.

NEWS LETTER OF THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

The American Committee for International Studies at Princeton, New Jersey, in order to maintain wide contacts with scholars and to encourage studies relating to international affairs, has issued a test edition of *News Letter*. Although it does not purport to be an inventory of studies in progress in the United States on these matters, it does issue notes on the subject. Besides, it proposes to make preliminary reports on international questions which arise suddenly. In this issue it discusses briefly the effects of the war on international studies in Europe. It may be expected that the pressure which the emergency has created will lead to other "improvised topical inquiries dealing with the more urgent questions of neutrality, national defense, and Latin-American relations." The secretary, Mr. William W. Lockwood, would like to receive opinions as to whether an occasional *News Letter* like that issued "serves a useful purpose and whether further issues will be welcome from time to time."

COMMON GROUND

Students of Hispanic America, who have observed so much emphasis upon the need of coöperation in the last four years, will not be surprised to learn that a publication edited by Louis Adamic, *Common Ground*, proposes to use the present emergency to call attention to the "common ground" of the old stock and the new in the American melting pot. There are, of course, countries in Latin America where this type of periodical would also be in place. The idea is a refreshing one, and has gained the support of many outstanding American publicists whose names appear on the board of editors. The contributors are also prominent spokesmen of American social thought—such as President Robert M. Hutchins, Arthur Meier Schlesinger, and Van Wyck Brooks. This is certainly a worthy corollary and supplement of the "common ground" of the Americas. The magazine is published by the Common Council for American Unity, and communications to

it should be addressed to *Common Ground*, 222 Fourth Avenue, New York City (subscription, \$2.00 a year).

PROFESSIONAL NOTES

Manuel Gamio, Mexican archaeologist, will take leave from his governmental tasks in Mexico City to offer several courses at Stanford for the coming quarter.

Arthur Ramos, Brazilian anthropologist, whose book on the Negroes was recently translated by Richard Pattee, taught at Louisiana State University during the first semester of the year.

Herbert I. Priestley has been made Director of the Bancroft Library in the place of Herbert E. Bolton, retired.

Lewis Hanke was invited to deliver a series of lectures at Johns Hopkins in February on "A New Interpretation of the Spanish Conquest of America."

Professor Bailey W. Diffie, of the College of the City of New York, has been granted a fellowship by the Rockefeller Foundation and is already at work in Brazil. His place has been taken temporarily by Mr. Alberto Rembao, a Mexican, whose education in part was obtained at Pomona and Yale. Mr. Rembao is the editor of *La Nueva Democracia* and the author of a widely read column which appears throughout Latin America.

EXCHANGE PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS

Under the terms of the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations, the United States has arranged for the exchange of professors and students with many of the countries of Hispanic America. To assist the Department of State in making the selections on the part of the United States, a special Committee on Exchange Fellowships and Professorships has been established.

Exchange professors or students will be sent to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Paraguay, Panamá, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. As other countries comply with the terms of the convention, they will be included.

The University of California, Stanford, Johns Hopkins, University of Chicago, University of Minnesota, University of Pennsylvania, Louisiana State University, University of Michigan, Ohio State University,

Tufts College, University of Florida, Rollins College, New York University, Catholic University, and Bryn Mawr College will all receive students from Hispanic America.

GRANTS

George Kubler, instructor in the Yale School of Fine Arts, has recently received a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies to study sixteenth-century Mexican architecture.

Chester L. Guthrie returned in December from Mexico where he was engaged in doing research preparatory to writing a descriptive history of seventeenth-century Mexico City. The research was made possible by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies.

PRIZES

The Maria Moors Cabot prizes for the advancement of coöperation and understanding among the Americas were awarded to Rafael Heliodoro Valle, professor of the history of America in the Universidad Nacional de México and correspondent for many Hispanic-American newspapers; Enrique Santos, co-director of *El Tiempo*, Bogotá, Colombia; James I. Miller, vice president of the United Press Association of Buenos Aires, Argentina; and Agustín Edwards, of Santiago, Chile. All of the above recipients came to the United States to receive the awards.

HISTORICAL PROJECTS

Annita M. Ker's *Guide to Mexican Government Documents* is about to come off the press.

Lewis Hanke recently announced that the fifth edition of the *Handbook* would be ready for sale and distribution in January. Furthermore, he is resigning as editor of the *Handbook*, for, as he stated, he has carried on the work as long as he feels anyone should, and now wishes to devote himself to his own research. The new editor will soon be appointed.

C. K. Jones has a revised and enlarged edition of his bibliography ready for the press as number one in a Latin-American series sponsored by the Library of Congress. Through the assistance of the Office for Coördination of Commercial and Cultural Relations with Latin America the bibliography will be widely distributed throughout Hispanic America.

MUNICIPAL AND STATE ARCHIVES OF MEXICO

A summary of a dispatch from the Honorable Josephus Daniels, American Ambassador at Mexico, provides curious information on the regional archives of Mexico:

A news article appearing in *El Nacional*, August 26, 1940, states that the Ministry of Gobernación has sent a circular to the State Governments for the information of Municipal Authorities, warning them that for no reason must they sell or dispose of their archives, whether these be of an official nature, of churches, parishes, etc. It is said that agents of the Company "Beneficiadora de Papel" have been going through the country trying to obtain such documents for industrial purposes. The State of Jalisco it is said has refused to sell its archives, but other States did make sales. The circular points out that the destruction of these archives means the disappearance of important data of the history of the country, and for that reason they must be preserved with care.

INTER-AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND
LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

The Pan-American Union has issued invitations to the fourth annual meeting of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association to be held February 20-21, 1941, in the city of Washington. Detailed programs will be sent to all those who signify their intention of attending. The proceedings of this convention are printed and the first three volumes can still be ordered from the H. W. Wilson Company in New York City. Mail should be sent in care of the Library of Congress.

CORONADO CUARTO-CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION

From May 1 to September 15 the Coronado Cuarto-Centennial Exposition was held to celebrate the coming of the Spanish explorers to the Southwest. Many scholars collaborated. George P. Hammond of the University of New Mexico and Agapito Rey of the University of Indiana prepared a book on *Oñate, first colonizer of New Mexico*. Also, *The Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542*, were released in May by Rey and Hammond.

In a similar manner Professor Herbert E. Bolton, professor emeritus of the University of California, made a study of Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante.

ACCESSIONS

Research materials relating to Latin America are to be found in several recent accessions of the National Archives. Included, for

example, are the records of the first and second occupations of Cuba in 1898-1902 and 1906-1909 pertaining to censuses, public works, customs and postal services, and other functions of central and local government in that country; correspondence of the Dominican Customs Receivership, 1905-1907; records of the President's Commission for Study and Review of Conditions in Haiti, 1930-1931; and numerous maps of the Bureau of Insular Affairs relating to Puerto Rico, 1901-1930. Other records received relate to the Conference on Central American Affairs, 1922-1923, the electoral missions to Nicaragua in 1928 and 1932, the occupation of Vera Cruz in 1914, the American-Mexican Joint Commission of 1916, the exportation of arms to Mexico, 1919-1929, the commissions concerned with the Tacna-Arica arbitration, 1925-1926, and with the Bolivia-Paraguay boundary dispute, 1929-1930.

At the Bancroft Library, University of California, there have been added the Fernandez Leal Codex and the original Venegas manuscript, "Historia de la Vieja California"; also about 200,000 pages of microfilm were placed in the library.

INSTITUTIONS

A national university has been established at Cuyo in the Province of Mendoza, Argentina, which will devote itself very largely to American themes in the fields of history, literature, folklore, and international relations.

The University of Buenos Aires has announced that a doctorate in Hispanic studies is now being given, with a program especially designed for students from the United States.

Under the direction of Tomás Morel a new review, *Correo Literario*, at Santiago, Dominican Republic, was launched recently. At the same time an exposition of American books was held, with a special pavillion devoted to the books of the United States. After the exposition, the books will go to form a Pan-American library.

THE IBERO-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO

The Ibero-American Institute of the University has just announced that Dr. Rupert Emerson has become a member of the Advisory Board. This event serves to call attention to the nature of the Institute which dovetails nicely with the recent aims laid down by the inter-American cultural conferences called by the Department of State last winter.

The Institute was organized in 1934 for the purpose of establishing at this crossroads of America a center of inter-American studies, with especial emphasis to be laid upon the contributions of the Iberian peoples to the civilization and culture of the Americas. That the organization is capable of achieving the concrete, is vouchsafed by six years of unremitting effort and by its correspondence with universities, societies, and governments throughout America and Iberian Europe in order to build up a library. The inflow of material suited to this laudable purpose is housed on the first floor of the Library of the University of Puerto Rico. The Institute also has a program of lectures and has sponsored useful publications.

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* Continued from November, 1940. Due to the growing space requirements of the *Review*, the Board of Editors has regretfully decided that it will not be possible to publish long serial bibliographies in the future. The editors would like to publish a complete list of Hispanic-American publications, but there are other bibliographical tools which assume that responsibility, and to continue with the bibliography of one country might be construed as disproportionate emphasis. Señor Valle has rendered invaluable service to the *Review* and its editors confidently expect many more years of fruitful coöperation with him.—ED.

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